Science Fiction Hawks and Doves; Doris Lessing
Sickle Cell & The Pill; Lynd--A Left Strategy / 75c

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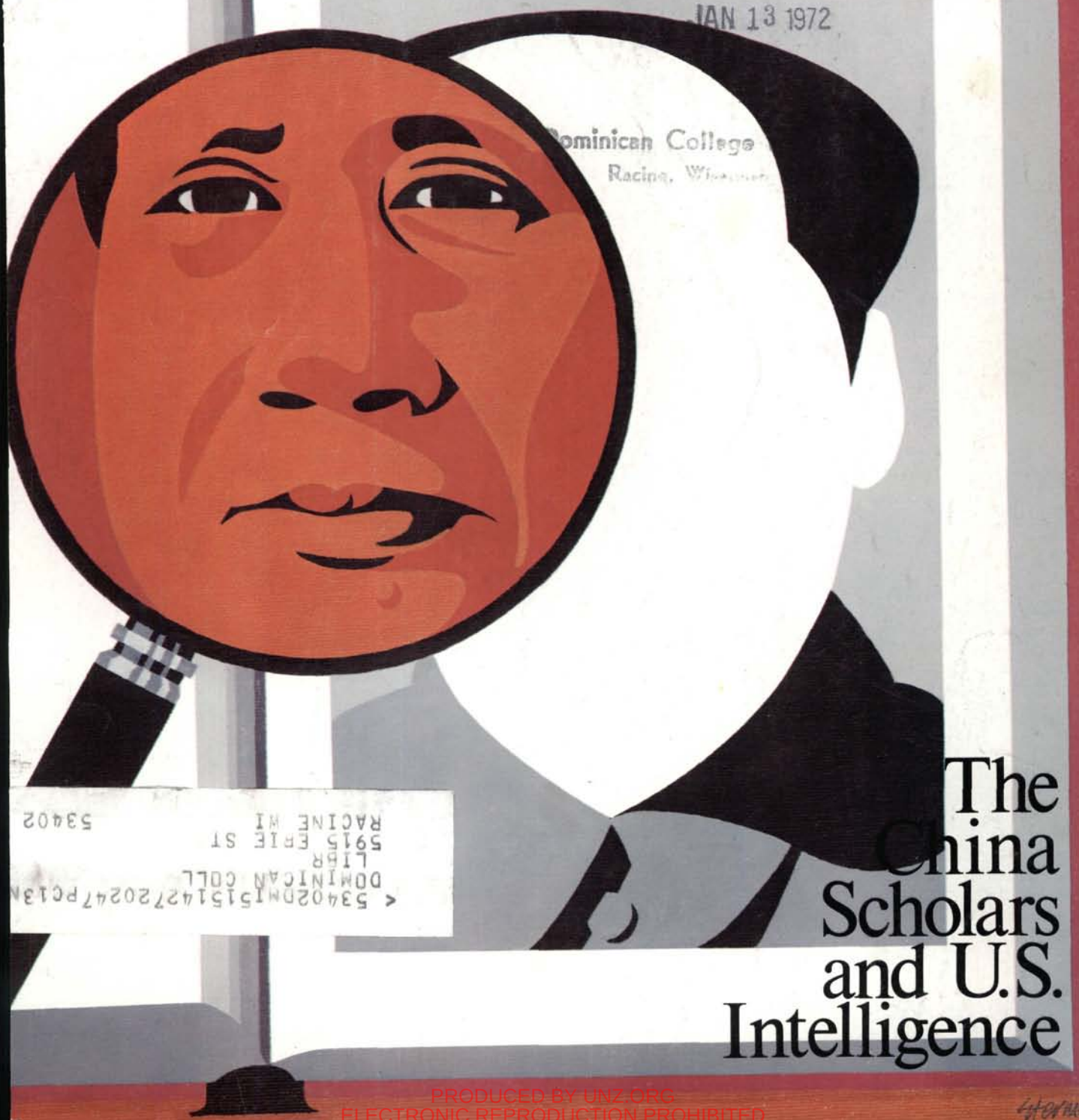

The China Scholars and U.S. Intelligence

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GEORGE McGOVERN
SOUTH DAKOTA

United States Senate
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

ADVERTISEMENT

Dear Friend,

When I announced my candidacy for the Democratic presidential nomination in January, I mailed a letter to thousands of people asking for a contribution to the campaign.

The response has exceeded our best hope. It is probably the most successful fund-raising effort of its kind in American history. And it is due to people like yourself who believe that a healthy political system depends in large part on a healthy system of financing campaigns.

When one receives a farm housewife's egg money of $2 or a contribution of $5 from a retired couple just barely getting by on Social Security, it gives one new faith and confidence in the democratic process.

These small contributions have now reached a total of more than $500,000. A good part of this has come from people who agreed to make a *monthly* contribution of $10 or more.

This sacrifice, this commitment from people like yourself in all parts of the country, has made it possible for me to travel to over half of the states in the union — some of them many times — and to "talk sense to the people," as Adlai Stevenson so eloquently urged.

And they are listening. While many people are still undecided about whom they will support for President, they are concerned about the direction our country has been taking, and they want to set it right. There is no doubt in my mind that if we can continue to present the issues which face the country at this crucial moment in our history, they will respond wisely and generously.

Now the crucial tests of the campaign are approaching — in New Hampshire, Florida, Wisconsin, and other states with early primaries.

The outcome of these primaries will be determined not by Gallup polls but by election polls, after the voters have had a chance to compare their first-hand impressions of the candidates and their views.

But quite frankly, the outcome also depends on you. Your support and that of others like you is absolutely essential to our success.

The money raised so far, combined with the selfless dedication of a great many enthusiastic volunteers, has permitted the establishment of the best grass roots organization of any candidate in such states as New Hampshire, Wisconsin, and Nebraska.

But now more campaign funds are needed for the all-out primary campaigning in the early part of next year.

Success in these early primaries, which is now within striking distance, is the key to the rest of the campaign. A few unexpected victories will change the entire complexion of the campaign, and generate a great deal of additional support from people who believe the time has come to genuinely re-order our national priorities.

Therefore, support right now — when it is needed the most and will count the most — offers a significant opportunity to influence our national political life by those who share my views on the need to disengage completely from Southeast Asia; to stop squandering our tax dollars on unneeded bombers and aircraft carriers and start diverting them to the crying needs in our cities, towns, and countryside; to achieve full employment; to make much faster progress in civil rights, women's rights, and civil liberties; and to cope with our other basic needs.

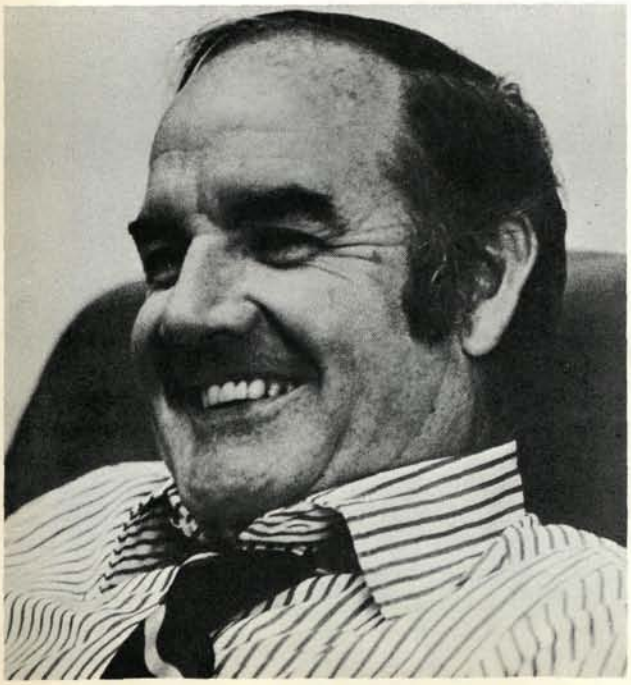
We hope you do share these views and that you will join those who are working with us to get our government back on the track.

If the forces of sanity and decency in this country will unite politically — and there are encouraging signs that this is beginning to happen — there is almost no limit to what we can accomplish together.

Won't you join us now, when your support can make a decisive difference?

Sincerely yours,

George McGovern



"I pledge to seek and speak the truth"

Mail To: McGovern for President Committee
410 First Street, S.E., Washington, D. C. 20003

☐ I support Senator McGovern in his efforts to lead our country along the path of peace, reconciliation and rededication. Enclosed is my contribution of $_____

703

☐ Miss
☐ Mrs.
☐ Mr.

Address _____ Apt. _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

☐ Please enroll me in the McGovern for President Club made up of supporters pledged to contribute $10 or more a month until the convention, and keep me closely informed on the progress of the campaign.

Please Make Checks Payable to McGovern for President Committee.

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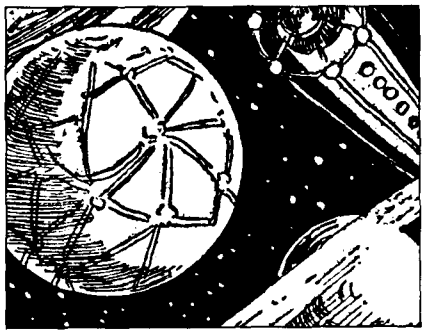
Emma Goldman *[Page 10]*



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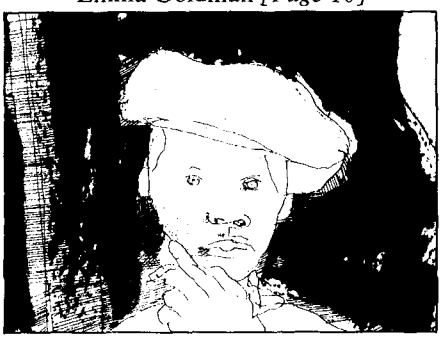

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Any 14

THE 5TH DIMENSION
LIVE!!
Never My Love
Stoned Soul Picnic
BELL

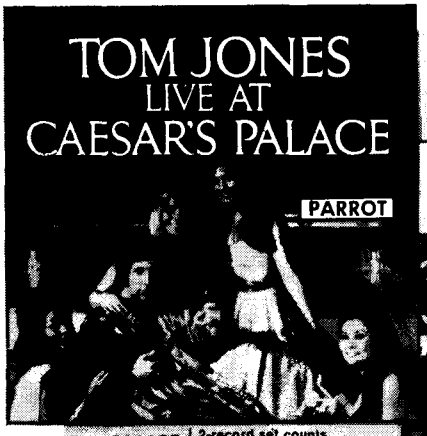
210161 | 2-record set counts as one selection

blessed are...
joan baez
The Night They Drove Old Dixie Down
VANGUARD

210252 | 2-record set counts as one selection

Chicago
Vols. 3 & 4
AT
CARNEGIE HALL
I'm a Man
25 or 6 to 4
COLUMBIA

209726 | 2-record set counts as one selection



TOM JONES
LIVE AT
CAESAR'S PALACE
PARROT

210138 | 2-record set counts as one selection

THREE DOG NIGHT
HARMONY
Old Fashioned Love Song
Family of Man
DUNHILL/ABC

210229

SANTANA 3
Batuka
Everybody's Everything
COLUMBIA

209239

RAY CONNIFF
Great Contemporary Instrumental Hits
It's Too Late
Superstar
Put Your Hand In the Hand
8 MORE
COLUMBIA

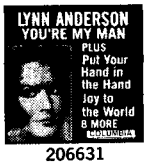
207571

SANTANA
ABRAXAS
COLUMBIA

195727

STEPPENWOLF
Sparkie Eyes
FOR LADIES ONLY

210203



LYNN ANDERSON
YOU'RE MY MAN
PLUS
Put Your Hand in the Hand
Joy to the World
8 MORE
COLUMBIA

206631

(SOUNDTRACK)
SUMMER OF '42
Michel Legrand
WARNER BROS.

204990

THE DONNY OSMOND ALBUM
Sweet and Innocent
Hey Little Girl
8 MORE
MGM

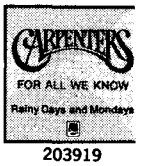
207100

EVERYTHING YOU ALWAYS WANTED TO HEAR ON THE MOOR*
Bolero • Espana • Carmen
Malaguena
*but were afraid to ask for
COLUMBIA

207662

Tammy Wynette and George Jones
We Go Together
It's So Sweet
Take Me

206771



CARPENTERS
FOR ALL WE KNOW
Rainy Days and Mondays

203919

The Moody Blues
every good boy deserves favor
Procession
The story by your guide
THRESHOLD

210195

HOROWITZ Plays RACHMANINOFF
Sonata in B-Flat Minor, Op. 36
MORE
COLUMBIA

203745

TEN YEARS AFTER
A SPACE IN TIME
I'd Love to Change the World
10 MORE
COLUMBIA

207977

BARBRA STREISAND
STONEY END
PLUS
Time and Love
9 MORE
COLUMBIA

200204

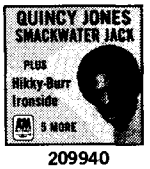
SONNY & CHER'S
Greatest Hits
The Beat Goes On
10 MORE
(2-RECORD SET)
ATCO

TWO RECORDS COUNT AS ONE SELECTION

155770

RAY STEVENS'
GREATEST HITS
Everything Is Beautiful
Gitarzan
Ahab the Ar
8 MOR
BARNABY

207456



QUINCY JONES
SMACKWATER JACK
PLUS
Hikky-Burr
Ironside
9 MORE

209940

THE BEACH BOYS SURFACE
PLUS
Don't Go Near The Water
8 MORE
BROTHER

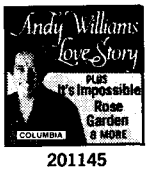
208397

THE PARTRIDGE FAMILY
UP TO DATE
I'll Meet You Halfway
10 MORE
BELL

202135

ARETHA FRANKLIN
live at fillmore west
Bridge Over Troubled Water
9 MORE
ATLANTIC

205526

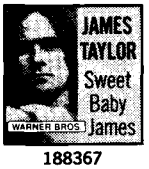


Andy Williams
Love Story
PLUS
It's Impossible
Rose Garden
8 MORE
COLUMBIA

201145

SIMON & GARFUNKEL
Bridge Over Troubled Water
PLUS
El Condor Pasa
9 MORE
COLUMBIA

186809



JAMES TAYLOR
Sweet Baby James
WARNER BROS.

188367

Merrill Robbins
TODAY
Early Morning Sunshine
The Clock
9 MORE
COLUMBIA

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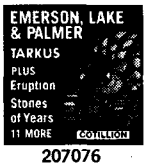


EMERSON, LAKE & PALMER
TARKUS
PLUS
Eruption
Stones of Years
11 MORE
COTILLION

207076

PERCY FAITH
BLACK MAGIC WOMAN
PLUS
If
Oye Como Va
8 MORE
COLUMBIA

206722

SLY & THE FAMILY STONE
GREATEST HITS

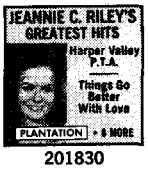
196246

ENGELBERT HUMPERDINCK
Sweetheart
PLUS:
For the Good Times
When There's No You
8 MORE
PARROT

199950

NEW RIDERS OF THE PURPLE SAGE
I Don't Know You
Glendale Train
8 MORE
COLUMBIA

208306



JEANNIE C. RILEY'S
GREATEST HITS
Harper Valley P.T.A.
Things Go Better With Love
PLANTATION + 8 MORE

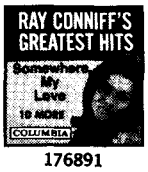
201830

Trans-Electronic Music Productions, Inc. presents
SWITCHED-ON BACH
COLUMBIA

171504

DEAN MARTIN
FOR THE GOOD TIMES
PLUS
Marry Me
8 MORE
REPRISE

199992

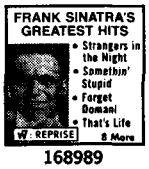


RAY CONNIFF'S GREATEST HITS
Somewhere, My Love
10 MORE
COLUMBIA

176891

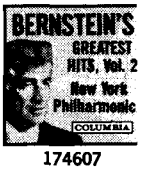
SANTANA
COLUMBIA

181909



FRANK SINATRA'S GREATEST HITS
• Strangers in the Night
• Somethin' Stupid
• Forget Domani
• That's Life
8 More
REPRISE

168989



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New York Philharmonic
COLUMBIA

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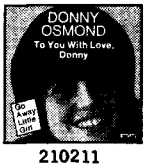

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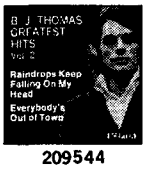

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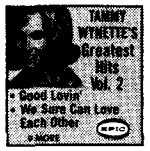

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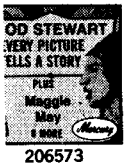

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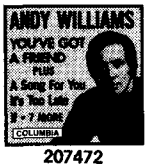

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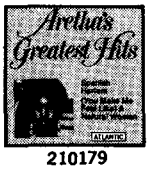

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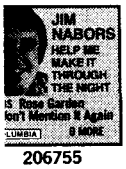

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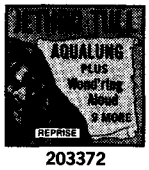

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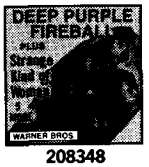

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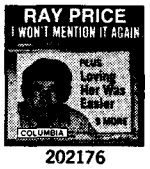

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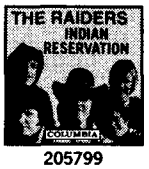

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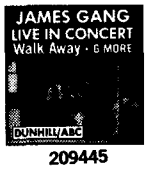

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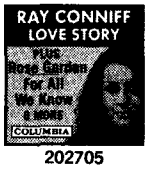

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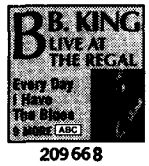

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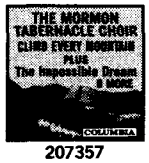

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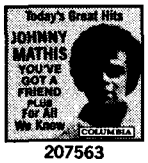

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[Hard Times]

Corporate Tax Bonanza

"Nixon's tax package provides a subsidy to corporations of $7.5 billion annually, or more than the total budgets of HUD, the Environmental Protection Agency, State Department and federal judiciary combined. It exceeds the $5.8 billion proposed in the welfare program and is equal to a $100 cash credit for each individual tax payer in the nation."

BY ENACTING NIXON'S TAX scheme, the Democratic Congress provided corporations with an estimated $7.5 billion in annual tax relief. In contrast a low income family will receive an additional $7 per year in benefits.

This scandalous act was not the work of Republican conservatives, but rather embodied the ideas of most moderate, even liberal, members of Congress who along with the administration believe large corporations are best suited to govern the United States and should be encouraged in that endeavor. These theories dictate that corporations should be rewarded even as the numbers of unemployed increase and while thousands are removed from the welfare rolls because they are too costly for the government to support.

The tax legislation provides a series of windfalls to corporations: The 7 percent investment tax credit will provide a $4.5 billion annual corporate tax subsidy. The original idea was to set a 10 percent credit the first year and 5 percent annually thereafter, but the Democrats (fearing an infusion of cash in an election year might improve the economy thereby reducing their chances) revised the percentages downward. In attacking the tax credit Robert Eisner, the economist, said the scheme is "a huge multi-billion dollar tax concession to essentially large, capital-intensive business while welfare reform and direct efforts to aid the cities and aid the poor and put the unemployed back to work are delayed or abandoned." He added, ". . . one of the last places where I would think that government intervention, help or subsidy is called for is in the investment decisions of the great bulk of American industry. There is no need for a handout to American industry to persuade them to do what should be in their own interest, that is have the optimal capital and investment policies for their own efficiency and profits." Ralph Nader argued that, even if the government believed it necessary to offer a tax credit this year because of the economy, it is unnecessary to write into law a perpetual tax concession.

The ADR (Asset Depreciation Range system) regulations written into law by Congress afford another sort of corporate subsidy. They will provide an estimated annual $2.9 billion tax break to corporations by allowing them to write off machinery and equipment 20 percent faster than they are actually used up. Nixon said this was a "reform to create jobs and growth." But even ADR proponents say the system will not have an effect for at least two years. A study in the *Economist* suggests ADR benefits may be passed straight along to stockholders in the form of higher dividends.

Congress adopted Nixon's DISC proposal, which is a scheme for allowing corporations to create partially tax-exempt dummy companies called Domestic International Sales Corporations. Foreign sales can be channeled through these firms. The tax subsidy is estimated at $500 million a year, and most of that will go to the big international corporations which do most of the trading abroad.

As an example of the government's beneficence, here is how the subsidy works for the automobile industry. In addition to the accelerated depreciation rules and the 7 percent investment tax credit, Congress eliminated the 7 percent excise tax on automobiles. This savings is meant to be passed along to the consumer in the form of lower auto prices. But this is a dubious proposition because the automobile manufacturers insist they cannot control the dealer's actual selling price. Thus the excise tax reduction may or may not be passed on to consumers. Probably it will be employed by dealers in enhancing their bargaining position. At any rate, the excise tax does not effect the used car market, nor does it have any bearing on those who cannot afford to buy cars. The effect of its removal can be cancelled by the rise in car prices or by inflated prices for safety equipment on automobiles.

The 10 percent surcharge on foreign imports subsidized US car makers providing them an advantage over foreign imports and thereby reducing what little price competition existed within the auto industry. A devaluation of the dollar by 12 percent would formalize this subsidy. The devaluation, in effect, is a tax paid by con-

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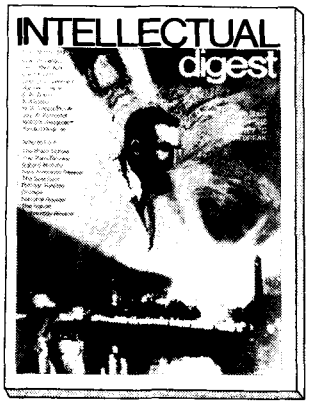

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sumers of imports in order to subsidize US exporters. Specifically, it is a way in which all of us subsidize GM, Chrysler, Ford in extending their hold over the world car markets.

In all, this tax package provides a subsidy to corporations of $7.5 billion annually, or more than the total budgets of HUD, the Environmental Protection Agency, State Department and federal judiciary taken together. It exceeds the $5.8 billion proposed in the welfare program. It is equal to a $100 cash credit for each individual tax payer in the nation.

THE TAX LEGISLATION was driven through Congress by Wilbur Mills and Russell Long, who at one time or another, have been described as "populists," champions of small business against the large corporations. The key vote in the powerful House Ways and Means Committee was held by Sam Gibbons, the Democratic congressman from Florida, who says he is a liberal.

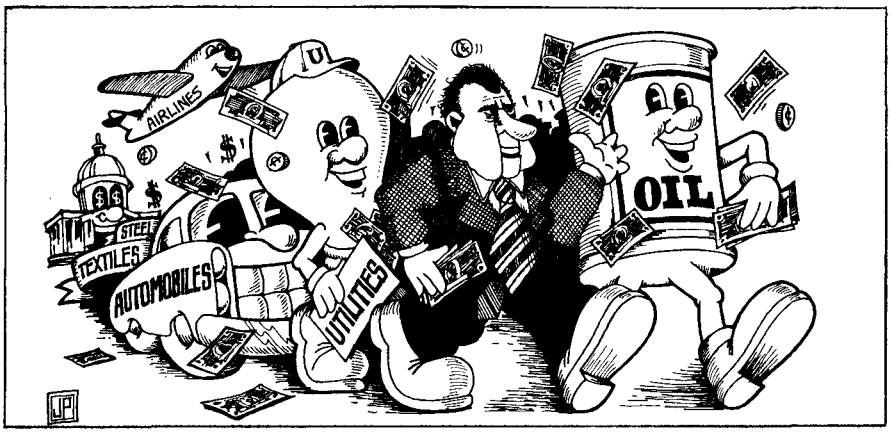
The tactics of the populist Mills, chairman of House Ways and Means Committee, are instructive: Mills discussed the pending legislation in secret executive sessions of the committee. Of the 40 people who attended these sessions, 25 of them were congressmen, 3 were staff members of the committee, and the remainder were from the Treasury Department. Staff assistants to congressional members of the committee were barred from the meeting room. Since many of the members were not acquainted with details of the tax rules, they were dependent on Mills for interpretation. Mills himself is a tax expert, and, since he together with the Treasury commanded the expertise, he was able to do pretty much as he pleased. A key committee vote came on a move to reduce the size of the ADR percentage. In this crucial vote Gibbons cast the swing vote on behalf of the corporations for a higher percentage. The bill was speedily reported out of House Ways and Means. Mills took it to the House floor on a closed rule which prevents amendments. The measure was voted October 6 about noon with between 30 to 50 members of the 435 member House on the floor. Mills shrewdly avoided a roll-call vote which would have meant sounding the buzzers throughout the House, calling members from their offices and luncheons. As it was, members were straggling up stairs from lunch as Mills was coming down from the chamber. Asked when the bill was to be debated, Mills replied it already had been passed. When Gerald Ford later remarked on the lack of a roll-call vote, Mills explained, "I think my friend from Michigan knows whenever I think there is to be a great political advantage to be gained from the committee on Ways and Means, I invariably ask for a roll-call on it. Where I think there is questionable gain politically I do not ask for one."

In the more liberal Senate, the tax bill was amended, but most of those changes were deleted in the House-Senate conference committee meetings dominated by Russell Long, chairman of the Senate Finance Committee, and Mills.

The tax program is a fairly recent and important part of the government's support program to large corporations. Certain other aspects were described in these columns in the December RAMPARTS. Antitrust is a continuing area of importance. When Nixon took office, the administration said it would seek a court ruling against conglomerate corporations. Instead, the administration quietly settled two major conglomerate cases—ITT and Hartford Fire Insurance and Jones Laughlin's merger with LTV. In both instances the larger corporations were allowed to keep their acquisitions. More recently the Justice Department refused to block the merger of National Steel and Granite City Steel. Combined, these two firms would make the third largest steel firm in the country. The proposed merger was opposed by the antitrust division of the Justice Department, but Mitchell refused to act on the staff position. The Nixon administration policy apparently is to encourage mergers in order to form large corporations which can deal more effectively in international competition. In doing so, he is imitating the Japanese who actively encourage conglomerates for the purpose of gaining leverage in international markets.

Another major merger case involves the combination of Warner Lambert with Parke Davis. Elmer Bobst, Nixon's longtime friend, is former chairman of Warner Lambert. It was Bobst who is credited with persuading Warner Lambert's law firm, Mudge, Rose, to hire Nixon after he was beaten in his race for California's governorship. Bobst remained a close friend, campaign contributor, and unofficial adviser when Nixon became President. When Nixon and Mitchell's old law firm turned up in the proposed merger representing Warner Lambert, Mitchell took himself out of the case. Instead, he handed over the task to Kliendienst, who refused to file in opposition. At that point, Richard McLaren, then the head of the antitrust division, threatened to resign. Finally the Justice Department covered up the case by shunting it over to the Federal Trade Commission where negotiations have been under way for some time. McLaren finally got out of the Justice Department to accept an appointment as federal judge in Chicago, replacing Julius Hoffman.

—JAMES RIDGEWAY



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Emma Goldman

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For years the government hounded Emma Goldman, the great anarchist and feminist. Finally J. Edgar Hoover succeeded in having her deported. At the final deportation hearing, Emma made this eloquent statement of defiance: "If the present proceedings are for the purpose of proving some alleged offense committed by me, some evil or antisocial act, then I protest against the secrecy and third-degree methods of this so-called 'trial.' But if I am not charged with any specific offense or act, if— as I have reason to believe— this is purely an inquiry into my social and political opinions, then I protest still more vigorously against these proceedings, as utterly tyrannical and diametrically opposed to the fundamental guarantees of a true democracy. Every human being is entitled to hold any opinion that appeals to her or him without making herself or himself liable to persecution."

Emma sent a telegram of sympathy to a mass meeting after the blast. Here Berkman addresses the throng in Union Square. The government cited the telegram as further evidence of her complicity.

The Justice Department sought to link Emma to the Lexington Avenue bomb blast of July 1914 when she joined in mourning the deaths of anarchists, Caron, Berg and Hanson, apparently killed when a bomb they were making exploded.

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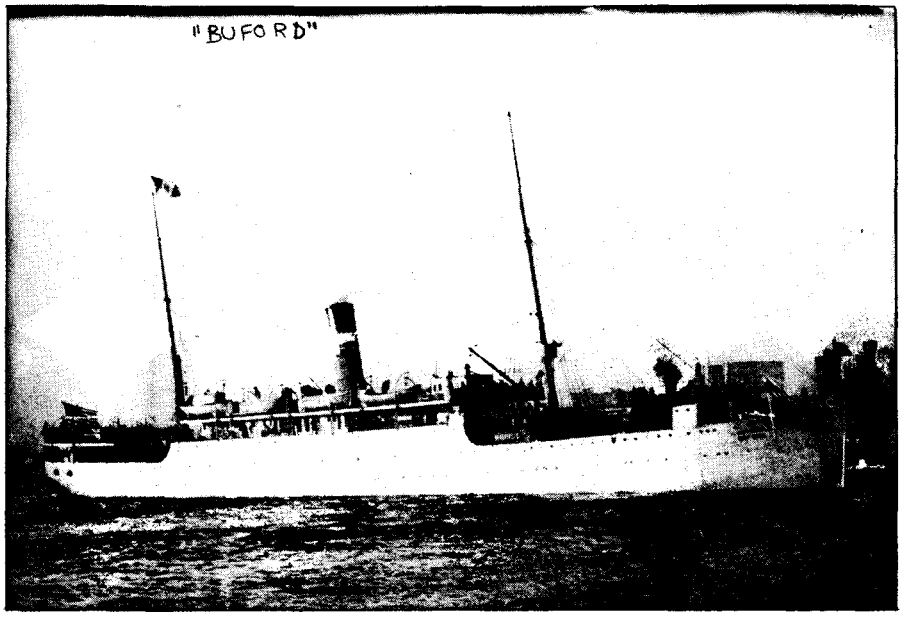

Hoover requisitioned
the SS Buford, an Army transport
dubbed the "Soviet Ark,"
to carry deportees
back to Russia.
A festive Congressman
who watched the sailing,
called out, "Merry Christmas,
Emma." She thumbed her nose
in reply.

AMONG J. EDGAR HOOVER'S earliest triumphs was his prosecution of Emma Goldman in 1919. Hoover, then only 26, had been placed in charge of the Justice Department's new anti-radical division which gathered evidence against subversives. Emma, who had been harassed by the government for years, was considered to be among the most dangerous. Hoover led the attack against her and personally supervised her deportation. It was a slanderous, totally unjust campaign, but the tactics used against Emma are instructive for they are similar to those employed by the Justice Department against radicals now. The story of this constant police harassment is told by her biographer Richard Drinnon in *Rebel in Paradise,* and is spread fully in the Congressional prints of the period.

Emma had come to the United States from Russia as a girl. Appalled by the Haymarket executions of 1887, she became politically radical. In New York she was lover and companion to Alexander Berkman, the anarchist.

Emma narrowly avoided prison when Berkman sought to assassinate Henry Clay Frick. Emma and Berkman were managing an ice cream parlor in Springfield when they received news that workers were locked out of Carnegie Steel's Homestead, Pa., plant. Henry Clay Frick, Carnegie's chairman, then ordered in Pinkerton guards, and a bloody battle ensued between the workers and Pinkertons. In the mistaken belief that the time was at hand for workers to rise, Emma and Alexander left Massachusetts and traveled to New York. There, Berkman determined to support the workers by assassinating Frick, arch symbol of capitalism. He attempted to make a time bomb, but the thing would not work. Berkman took the couple's few dollars and boarded a train for Pittsburgh where he hoped to kill Frick. Emma remained behind to raise money for a revolver—which she then sent to him. Shortly after noon, July 23, 1892, Berkman brushed past Frick's servants, rushed into his private office, and shot and stabbed the capitalist. Frick, however, was not killed and eventually recovered. Berkman was sent to prison for 22 years.

The police immediately set upon Emma, looking for evidence which would connect her to the attempted murder. They found none. After the assassination try, Emma argued against violence of any sort. With Berkman in jail and both the unions and other anarchists bitterly attacking him for the attempted murder, Emma campaigned in his defense. She then turned to organizing the unemployed during the depression of 1893. Although she now spoke against violence, Emma was arrested for inciting to riot for her union organizing and was sent to prison for one year. In 1901 she narrowly escaped arrest when the Erie County, New York, prosecutor attemped to link her to the assassination of President McKinley on grounds that the assassin, Leon Czolgosz, had been influenced by her public speeches. She was jailed in Chicago, but because there was no evidence extradition attempts failed and she was released after 15 days.

During an anarchist conference in Amsterdam in 1907, the government sent detectives to track her around Europe, then announced it planned to bar her re-entry into the US. But, with the help of some anarchist friends, Emma slipped away and came back through Canada. Next, Attorney General Bonaparte brought denaturalization proceedings against Emma's husband Jacob Kersner (they had been long separated), thereby laying the base for deporting Emma herself. In 1918, Emma and Berkman, by then released from prison, actively encouraged men to resist the draft. They were arrested and imprisoned for two years. On their release the government went ahead with plans to deport them.

THE TASK FELL TO HOOVER. The Congress was in an uproar over the Reds by 1919, and Hoover's job was to catalogue subversives, read their papers, take down their speeches, and gather other evidence which would enable the government to deport alien radicals. For the most part the government's case against Emma was flimsy stuff, consisting mostly of guilt by association. The Justice Department claimed she had referred to three

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anarchists who died in a bomb blast as "comrades" and she was friends with two men convicted of bombing the *Los Angeles Times* building. But the most inflammatory evidence was the renewed attempt to link her with Leon Czolgosz, McKinley's assassin. Here Hoover made his case by doctoring Czolgosz' statements to the police, changing the emphasis and meaning.

Here is part of the assassin's apparently damning confession, put together by Hoover, and presented to Congress by Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer.

Q—You believe it is right to kill if necessary, don't you?

A—Yes sir.

Q—Did you talk it over with any one or say it was something you read that suggested it to you, or something else?

A—Yes sir.

Q—Something you had read was it?

A—Yes sir.

Q—Who was the last one you heard talk?

A—Emma Goldman.

Q—What did she say or what did she say to you about the President?

A—She says . . . she didn't mention no President at all. She mentioned the Government.

Q—What did she say about it?

A—She said she didn't believe in it.

Q—You got the idea it would be a good thing if we didn't have this form of government?

A—Yes sir.

In *Rebel in Paradise* Drinnon points out that the Justice Department left out various sections of the actual confession. For example, this exchange was left out:

Q—You heard her say it would be a good thing if all these rulers were wiped off the face of the earth?

A—She didn't say that.

There were two other major ommissions:

Q—And that all those who supported the government ought to be destroyed?

A—She didn't say they ought to be destroyed.

Q—You wanted to help her in her work, and thought this the best way to do it; was that your idea; or if you have any other idea, tell us what it was?

A—She didn't tell me to do it."

Hoover had laid his plans for the deportation proceedings with care while Emma and Berkman were in prison on the draft charges. After perfunctory hearings, they were both ordered deported. There was some chance that Emma's case might have been overturned by the Supreme Court, but she quit the struggle to accompany Berkman. At 4:15 on the morning of December 21, Emma, Berkman and other deportees set out on the SS Buford for the trip back to Russia. J. Edgar Hoover watched the sailing from a New York pier.

The Sickle Cell and the Pill

BIRTH CONTROL PILLS MAY be dangerous to large numbers of black women. Recent articles in medical journals suggest that women with sickle cell anemia or the sickle cell trait may be likely to develop blood clots if they take oral contraceptives. Ninety-eight percent of those who have the sickle cell disorder are black.

Ten percent of black people in the United States alone have the sickle cell trait, and ninety percent of these remain undiagnosed. Yet neither domestic family planning clinics nor the Agency for International Development which administers birth control programs overseas give black women the simple, inexpensive test for sickle cell trait before prescribing oral contraceptives. Nor do they warn blacks that sickle cell trait in combination with oral contraceptives may make them more susceptible to stroke or heart attack or other blood clots.

Three physicians recently reported cases in which patients with sickle cell disease or the sickle cell trait developed blood clots after taking oral contraceptives. In a 1967 issue of the *Journal of the American Medical Association,* Drs. Roy Haynes and James Dunn discuss two patients with sickle cell disease who developed blood clots in their lungs after the use of oral contraceptives. In the April 1971 issue of *Connecticut Medicine,* Dr. Jonathan Greenwald describes the case of a patient with the sickle cell trait who suffered stroke after taking birth control pills.

In the case reported in JAMA, a black woman with sickle cell disease suffered no blood clotting episodes—or thromboses—until she had been taking an oral contraceptive for eight months, at which time she developed a blood clot in one lung. She stopped taking birth control pills for a time, then one month after she resumed taking them developed another lung clot. Finally, she stopped taking the pill and had an intrauterine device inserted. The thrombotic episodes ceased. Drs. Haynes and Dunn have treated at least one other black woman with sickle cell disease who developed lung clots after using oral contraceptives.

In 1969, Dr. Greenwald treated a black woman who was suffering from stroke. She had been taking oral contraceptives. In the hospital, she was tested for every condition her physician knew of which might have predisposed her to stroke. In every respect she was discovered to be normal except that she was a previously undiagnosed carrier of the sickle cell trait. In this case as in the others the evidence led her physician to conjecture that a sickling tendency of the red blood cells might predispose women to have adverse reactions to birth control pills. All three doctors felt that oral contraceptives had acted as agents precipitating red blood cell sickling, which in turn produced blood clotting in their patients.

SICKLE CELL ANEMIA IS CAUSED by abnormal hemoglobin, the essential element in red blood cells. Individuals will have sickle cell anemia if they have two genes for Hemoglobin S. They will then suffer from unpredictable periodic stretching of the red blood cells to an abnormal, elongated shape. When this occurs, blood circulation and the flow of oxygen throughout the body are obstructed. Since decreased oxygen concentration in the body is one condition under which sickling inevitably occurs in people with sickle cell disease, the sickling process induces further sickling until the bunched sickled cells cause blood clots. People with sickle cell anemia suffer

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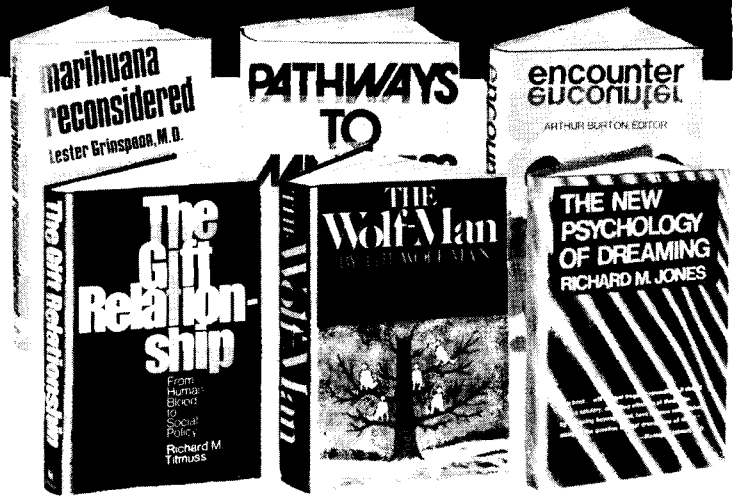

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these painful thromboses regularly until the time they die. Few individuals with sickle cell disease live past the age of 30. Those individuals with only one gene for Hemoglobin S have the sickle cell trait, not the disease. People who carry the trait usually bear no symptoms of the disease. Under conditions of low oxygen pressure, however—notably in unpressurized airplanes or after heavy exertion or during a high fever—those with the trait may experience sickling of the red blood cells and thrombotic crises. [See RAMPARTS, October 1971]

Doctors who have reported coincident cases of oral contraceptive use and thrombotic episodes are exploring this theory: that oral contraceptives may also lower the oxygen pressure in the blood and thus induce sickling and thrombosis. Oral contraceptives, they assert, thicken and slow blood circulation. The more slowly blood circulates through a tissue, the more oxygen the tissue extracts from it. Birth control pills in this way may lower the oxygen level in the blood, bringing on the sickling crises which lead to blood clots. Pregnancy is a dangerous condition for women with sickle cell disease partially because it slows blood flow. Drs. Haynes and Dunn write that while the incidence of thrombosis actually declines during pregnancy for most women, in patients with sickle cell disease it increases. Oral contraceptives merely replicate many of the hormonal changes the body undergoes during pregnancy. Most relevantly, they slow blood flow thereby reproducing the precise condition which makes pregnancy dangerous for women with sickle cell anemia.

"Whenever a physician contemplates prescribing an oral contraceptive for a patient of Negro ancestry, he should first order a sickle cell preparation and ideally a hemoglobin [test]. If sickling and/or Hemoglobin S is found, alternate contraceptive methods must be given strong consideration," Dr. Greenwald writes. Drs. Haynes and Dunn conclude, "[There is] strong evidence for a cause and effect relationship between the oral contraceptive, sickle cell hemoglobinopathy, and thrombosis. Perhaps oral contraceptives should be withheld from women with Hemoglobin S."

Sickle cell specialists agree that birth control pills should not be administered to those with the actual disease. The British government has already issued a report documenting increased incidence of thrombosis among all women who have taken birth control pills. Sickle cell disease specialists feel it senseless to give patients already prone to thrombotic seizures a drug which compounds the risk. The Albert Einstein College of Medicine in New York City is currently planning a study concerning the effect of oral contraceptives on sickle cell anemia. Doctors at that hospital no longer administer oral contraceptives to patients with the disease despite the imperative need to protect them from the dangers of pregnancy. Dr. Robert Scott, a specialist in sickle cell disease at the Medical College of Virginia Health Sciences Center, does not give his patients who have sickle cell anemia birth control pills for the same reasons. Dr. Lemuel Diggs, in the Department of Medicine at the University of Tennessee, who has had extensive experience with sickle cell disorders, reports adverse reactions to oral contraceptives in patients of his who have sickle cell disease.

Sickle cell trait may leave those who bear it entirely free of symptoms and become significant only if two people with the trait marry and have children. Physicians who interdict use of the pill in conjunction with sickle cell disease are generally uncertain about whether the sickle cell trait as well renders the pill particularly dangerous. Yet, if birth control pills do deplete the body's oxygen supply, as the articles have suggested, oral contraceptives may be almost as dangerous for women with the trait as for those suffering from the disease.

During this period of uncertainty, the US government and private agencies in this country have decided to concentrate funds for family planning efforts among poor people, as this population is most "in need" of birth control assistance. However, the Food and Drug Administration requires no mention in the labelling of oral contraceptives that pre-existing blood abnormalities may make them dangerous. Family planning clinics often do not administer the cheap, easy test for the trait; black people are not advised to receive the test elsewhere before taking oral contraceptives. Another prime target of birth control pills are countries with exclusively black populations who receive no information about the specific dangers the pill may bear for them.

THE POTENTIAL DANGER of birth control pills to black women is only one of the hazards they pose. The pill is increasingly coming under attack by physicians who feel it is dangerous for all women. In 1967 two British neurologists reported a sharply increased incidence of stroke among previously healthy women who had been using birth control pills. Three neurologists at Western Reserve University School of Medicine have reported on at least nine women who suffered strokes connected with oral contraceptive use. Besides stroke, many women have suffered lung clots, phlebitis, and other blood clotting as a result of the pill. The British Minister of Health in 1967 stated that evidence showed women taking oral contraceptives ran "a slightly increased risk" of developing blood clots. A recent study of oral contraceptives in the *Journal of Chronic Disease* concludes, "clinical . . . data indicate that the oral contraceptives are thrombogenic. . . . Tentatively we conclude that the thrombogenic potential of the oral contraceptives appears to reside in the estrogenic components. . . . Further study of the effect of these hormones as it pertains to . . . clotting is . . . necessary."

Synthetic estrogen—a principal component of birth control pills—may cause cancer as well. Recently hearings on the hormone Diethylstilbestrol (DES), used by pregnant women to prevent miscarriage, have revealed that this hormone may be carcinogenic. The daughters of many women who have used DES during pregnancy have developed vaginal cancer, and physicians testified before the House Intergovernmental Relations Subcommittee that the estrogen content of DES may have been the cause. One doctor was asked "To your knowledge, have any of the contraceptives on the market today been shown to be carcinogenic?" He replied, "Yes . . . because they have

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First Decree for the Protection of Life

WHEREAS —

After thousands of years of slow and laborious development, mankind during the past few decades has rapidly come into possession of technological means which promise either unlimited opportunity and abundance or sudden and universal catastrophe.

The People of Earth are, in fact, confronted daily with the threat of instant extermination by the accidental or deliberate unleashing of nuclear weapons. This threat multiplies as more nations gain nuclear capability and install multiple warheads which defy inspection and control by treaty.

Even limited use of nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction imperils civilian populations, towns, cities and country-sides, and can turn entire countries into ravaged battlefields.

The $200,000,000,000 being spent by the nations each year for military purposes, mainly for weapons of mass destruction and their deployment, is a criminal waste of resources and manpower which could otherwise be devoted to supplying the People of Earth with adequate food, shelter, clothing, education, health services and expanding opportunities in life.

So long as nations give priority to expenditures for military might, there is scant chance of applying the brainpower, manpower and resources needed to solve other rapidly mounting problems which threaten humanity with the breakdown of society, misery and death in multiple ways before the end of the century. These problems include environmental pollution, the gap between rich and poor, hunger and population, urban decay, technological cancers, social disorientations and other troubles.

Apart from dangers of universal ruin, the means of modern warfare comprise the tools of force by which stronger nations interfere in the affairs of weaker nations and enforce imperialistic and colonial policies.

Meanwhile, the civil and human rights of people in all countries are nullified when nations are permitted to keep large and heavily armed military forces, since it is with military force that dictatorships and tyrannies are enforced, movements for peaceful change crushed, and people kept subservient — making a mockery of the Charter of Human Rights adopted by the United Nations.

Despite the extreme dangers to all life on Earth, which are growing every day and year, the national governments not only fail to protect their citizens from these dangers, but on the contrary many national governments are actively increasing the hazards by continuing to install nuclear weapons and to devise other weapons with ever greater capacity for death and ruin.

During the next one to thirty years, in order to survive and prosper, the residents of Earth must overcome manifold problems and perils of planetary scope unknown in history. Yet at the world level, no agency exists which has the authority or competance to cope with the problems, and anarchy prevails.

THEREFORE —

When life is seriously endangered and existing governments are either unable or unwilling to remove the dangers and improve the conditions of life, then it becomes necessary for responsible citizens to proceed with remedies which seem appropriate.

Men and women acting under such circumstances may be described as Trustees acting for the common good, ultimately justified by whether their actions are endorsed by their fellow citizens.

In view of the increasing jeapordy to the lives and property of everyone on Earth, and in the absence of effective action by national governments and international agencies to protect life, we who are listed below, from many countries, have organized ourselves into an Emergency Council of World Trustees to take immediate action on behalf of humanity. Our purposes are to outlaw war and war preparations, to convene a Peoples World Parliament for continuous work, to prepare a Constitution for Federal World Government for submission to the Parliament, to appoint global legislative commissions to prepare legislation on urgent world problems for submission to the Parliament, and to take other appropriate action leading to the establishment of a Provisional World Government under democratic popular control.

As a first action to rescue Planet Earth and its inhabitants from destruction, and to provide a tangible rallying ground for people everywhere who want peace and human rights while moving towards the creation of a Provisional World Government, we do hereby issue this First Decree for the Protection of Life:

1. Upon the effective ratification of this decree, it shall be outlaw and forbidden everywhere on Earth to design, test, produce, transport, sell, buy, install, deploy or use nuclear weapons, chemical-biological weapons, or any weapons of mass destruction, including airplanes equipped for bombing, I.C.B.M.s and other delivery systems, battleships, tanks and all manner of bombs and newly devised weapons.
2. This decree shall go into effect as soon as it is ratified by groups of students and professors at 200 universities and colleges in at least 20 countries, or by the signatures of at least 10 million individuals in at least 20 countries, or any equivalent thereof.
3. Any and all executive, administrative and chief policy making officials in governments, the military forces, industry, scientific work education or labor who may be responsible for violation of this decree after effective ratification, shall be guilty of war crimes and crimes against humanity.
4. Those who sign or ratify this decree thereby pledge themselves personally to abide by the decree. Opportunity to ratify shall be continued beyond the minimum stated herein for the decree to go into effect.
5. Individuals found guilty of violation of this decree may be assigned to rehabilitation and reconstruction work in areas devastated by war, or to other work of service to humanity.
6. Procedures for enforcement of this decree shall be determined either by the Emergency Council of World Trustees upon effective ratification, or by the Peoples World Parliament or Provisional World Government as soon as the latter institutions are established.

PEOPLE OF EARTH, UNITE TO OBTAIN NEW PRIORITIES FOR LIFE, BY SIGNING OR RATIFYING THIS FIRST DECREE FOR THE PROTECTION OF LIFE!

This First Decree for the Protection of Life was issued at the inaugural meeting of the Emergency Council of World Trustees at Santa Barbara, California, Dec. 28, 1971, to Jan. 2, 1972. At time of issuance, the Decree carried the signatures of several hundred persons from all continents of Earth, more than half being presidents of university student unions and other student leaders.

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synthetic estrogen and . . . any estrogen of these strains will be carcinogenic."

Another great danger of birth control pills is that women taking them may forget to take the pill for a day or so, then resume taking them, having unknowingly become pregnant in the meantime. What this means for the fetus, as Morton Mintz has written in his book *By Prescription Only*, is that, if it is female it will be exposed to a tremendous hazard of being masculinized; many birth control pills contain norethindrone, which has a masculinizing effect on the female fetus. As early as 1964 The Council on Drugs of the American Medical Association reported that ". . . instances of masculinizing of the female fetus have been associated with its [norethindrone's] use during pregnancy." —FRANCES LANG

Clean Water: Nixon Vetoes Nixon

NIXON'S ENVIRONMENTAL policies achieved a new level of farce when the administration turned against the water pollution legislation it originally had urged Congress to adopt. At first this might seem odd, but it is the Nixon style to one day have a cabinet secretary demand a piece of legislation in Congress and a secretary from some other department oppose it the next.

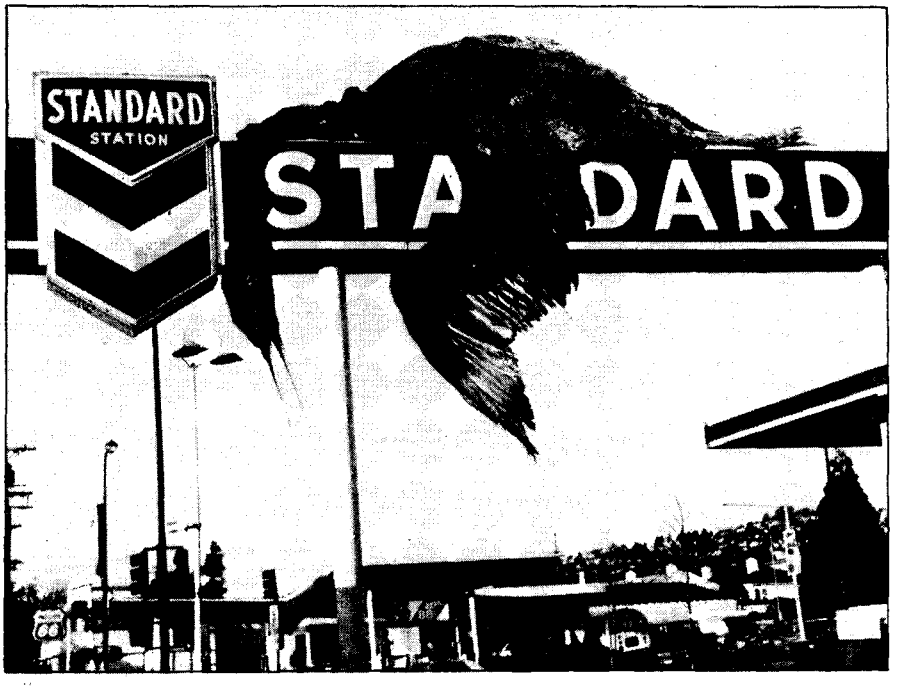
That is what happened with water pollution. William Ruckelshaus, administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency, helped both to write the bill and push it through the Senate, only to discover that the White House was opposing it. Presumably Nixon does not want to offend industry in an election year. But, whatever the reason, the great campaign to clean up the environment, launched in the President's first year in office, is rapidly losing momentum. The history of the water pollution effort is telling.

During the 1930s middle-western Republicans were eager to develop inland waterways and campaigned for national water pollution laws which would have established effluent standards for local polluters—industries as well as municipalities. The standards were opposed by the Roosevelt administration, because they would have imposed pressures on industry which was trying to recover from the depression and also because they would have caused expense and difficulty in the coal-producing regions of the country. After the Second World War, Congress accepted a compromise position on water pollution, in effect leaving authority with the states but granting the federal government the right to conduct research. That legislation had been built up in bits and pieces, providing federal funds for building local sewage facilities and authority to enforce abatement plans in cases of interstate pollution.

In 1965, at Senator Muskie's urgings, the Congress passed what was then considered to be an important bill, authorizing the federal government to establish criteria on which states could establish pollution standards. The legislation has not worked as planned, and by Senator Muskie's own count only half the states now have effective water quality standards—six years after passage of the law.

Dissatisfied with so little progress, conservation groups, Ralph Nader, members of Congress and others urged the Nixon government to shortcut the pollution laws and enforce an old section of the 1899 Refuse Act which requires that industries must obtain permits from the Army Corps of Engineers before dumping wastes into any navigable body of water. The Refuse Act seemed to cut through the states-rights barrier of existing legislation and to provide the central government with authority to establish effluent standards for local industry. In 1970 the Nixon administration agreed to enforce the Act and a permit system was established.

But the government did not reveal how it intended to enforce the permit section of the Refuse Act. There were no rules and guidelines, no steps taken to ensure public participation, no indication of where there would be specific effluent standards. Finally at a joint House-Senate hearing in February 1971, John Quarles, the EPA general counsel, was questioned about enforcement. He replied that the federal government would only review permit applications from polluters dumping into interstate streams, leaving all those dumping into *intrastate* streams to the state agencies. Since only 15 percent of the nation's waterways fall within interstate or federal jurisdiction, that in effect was leaving the law with the states. At the same time, Quarles proposed that Congress pass a new act giving the federal government control of pollution in navigable waters, thereby suggesting that Congress pass the Refuse Act a second time.



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Who Will Be Good Samaritans For 9 Million Bengali Refugees

Dear Friend:

One of the first Bible Stories we tell our children is the story of the good samaritan who stops to care for a wounded robbery victim lying beside the road after others had hurried on past.

It is a story that has a deep meaning to most Americans whether the person in need lying beside the road is an earthquake victim in Chile or a starving child in Biafra. We have always been quick to be good samaritans to others less fortunate than ourselves. We have rushed to help not just to the other side of the road, but to the other side of the world.

Now our traditionally generous impulses are meeting the supreme test. Because what is happening on the other side of the world is such a vast catastrophe — so many millions are in anguish — that there is a danger we will give a hopeless shrug and pass them by.

Fleeing from the horrors of one of the bloodiest civil conflicts of this century, their homes and barns burned, their nearest of kin shot down, nine million Bengali refugees have poured out of Pakistan into India.

Old people, children, mothers with babes in arms, have walked barefoot as far as three hundred miles to the border in the blistering sun without enough food or water, so that when they reached safety in India there was no place for them to stay but in the fields.

When the monsoon rains came they hoveled in drain pipes, beneath mats, under canvas or pathetically inadequate umbrellas.

Swooning from cholera and hunger, they sometimes had to stand up all night with water up to their knees because there was no dry place to lie down.

Hospitals made for 200 patients have been swamped with 800, 1200 and 1500, lying beside the beds, in the corridors, outside the yard in row after row.

The government of India, already hard pressed with its own economic problems, is spending over 3 million dollars a day in a valiant effort to care for the refugees. Obviously, it is not enough. It is questionable how long India can provide even this aid without collapsing.

Although national governments and relief organizations are making important contributions for the relief of this mass sea of human suffering, to supplement this effort it is necessary to seek private help.

Emergency Refugee Fund has been organized to appeal to American families to help in this hour of unprecedented need.

We do not ask you to undertake the hopeless task of saving nine million people from starvation and disease. This is a staggering problem even to comprehend.

All we ask is that you, one American family, undertake and save one Bengali refugee by your contribution.

You can do this by contributing only 33¢ a day for the next six months. This amounts to $10 per month. We do not underestimate the sacrifice this will mean for many people.

But your commitment to give $10 a month for the next 6 months can pick up one Bengali child, give him food and cholera vaccine to carry him to high ground and survival.

It is expected that within the next 6 months a peaceful solution will be reached and allow the refugees to return in safety to their homeland.

You can multiply your contribution several times over by calling at least 5 of your close friends. Ask them to make the same commitment to save one child, and they should in turn call 5 of their friends.

You may also want to ask your church, or club or local civic organization if they cannot also help as a group.

If we can get nine million American families — only 4% of the population — to provide minimum care for just one Bengali baby, or child, or mother, or father, it will be the greatest rescue operation in human history.

Your dollars will be channelled through UNICEF, CARE, IRC and other authorized organizations to provide emergency relief.

Please mail the coupon below with your check directly to the bank by using the Post Office box. Save your cancelled check as a record of your tax-deductible contribution.

Too often in recent years we have presented an image of America as the richest and most powerful nation in the world.

Now, as never before, here is a desperate need for America to show itself as the most compassionate and generous of the world's nations as well.

Chester Bowles, former Ambassador to India
Robert Drinan, Congressman from Massachusetts
Shrikumar Poddar, President, India Foundation

Homer Jack, World Conference of Religion for Peace
William Plymat, Chairman, Preferred Risk Insurance Company

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EMERGENCY REFUGEE FUND
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I support your efforts to help Bengali refugees.

☐ **I will contribute $_____ a month for the next 6 months.**
☐ **I prefer to contribute $_____ at one time.**

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☐ **Mrs.**
☐ **Mr.**

_____

Address

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City **State** **Zip**

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Unbelieving, Henry Reuss asked Quarles, "You testified that unless Congress passed another Refuse Act of 1899 you were going to dish out these permits first come, first served. Isn't that what you testified?"

Quarles: "I would not agree with your expression of the thought; basically I am in agreement of the way you understand the testimony."

Reuss: "That is why I am appalled at your testimony this afternoon. It is like a big insurance policy. The big print gives it to you and the little print takes it away. . . . Now that I hear what you have to say, there isn't any permit program. . . . It is just a device for giving immunity to polluters."

In an apparent effort to meet this difficulty, the Senate Public Works Committee began to rewrite the water pollution legislation. Ruckelshaus himself testified before executive sessions, and according to staff members, the committee essentially adopted his proposals. In its final version the bill virtually gave the government authority to establish effluent standards for local industry. The bill was reported from committee, and passed unanimously 86-0 on the Senate floor.

However, in the days immediately before passage, the state water pollution control officials and representatives of the electric utilities launched a vigorous lobby against the bill. The state pollution officials, led by Henry Diamond, Governor Rockefeller's environmental chief, deluged Congress and the administration with telegrams and letters. The Senate committee even met in executive session to explain the legislation to the New York bureaucrats who were worried lest federal bureaucrats intrude on their territory, but who also serve as protectors for local industry. After the legislation passed the Senate, the White House repudiated Ruckelshaus and, adopting the state officials' line, unsuccessfully lobbied against the bill in the House Public Works Committee.

Because the attempted gutting of the administration's own bill went largely unrecorded, Nixon was afforded yet another public relations coup.—J.R.

Texas Gas vs. Kentucky Farmers

IN WESTERN KENTUCKY'S Muhlenburg County lies the largest gas field east of the Mississippi, and the third or fourth largest field in the United States. Moreover, the field is thought to have the best storage capacity anywhere. Its present owner has referred to it as "one of a kind." The field is enormous, measuring approximately 11 miles in length, with an average width of 1.3 miles. It is part of the ancient Michigan River channel that stretches from Ft. Knox west to the Princeton area in Caldwell County.

The first well was discovered in 1962. Numerous wildcat wells followed. Some were dry, but a large portion weren't, and the exploration continued. Independent oil men, such as Charlie Baker—partner in Flag Drilling Company of Greenville, Kentucky—began buying mineral rights from the farmers and other landholders in the area. In exchange for mineral rights, landowners were given a one-eighth share in the well's production.

Texas Gas Transmission Corporation, a large, diversified interstate natural gas concern, bought the gas from these independent producers. Texas Gas itself then began acquiring its own oil and gas leases. As its holdings increased, it cut down on the amount of gas it was taking from the independent wells. Baker refers to this as the "conditioning period." In negotiating with individual farmers, Texas Gas would tell them that their well was going dry and that Texas Gas simply wanted the "storage rights." The clincher was that if Texas Gas's offer wasn't accepted, the party would be taken to court and Texas Gas would get it anyway. (Kentucky law allows gas companies to condemn land to establish a storage area.) Since many of these farmers equated court proceedings with criminality, this threat was a source of real fear for some. This, added to the mystery and financial burdens entailed in litigation, induced many to settle out of court. Floyd McDonald, an elderly farmer who "sold out," said: "They made out like there was no more gas in the ground and they said they could take it through the courts anyway. So when they gave us a price, I took it. I wasn't about to tangle with the lawyers of those big outfits."

Actually, what Texas Gas was doing was partially shutting the valves on the wells of the independents, thereby restricting the gas flow, and sucking just as hard as it could through its own pipes on the independents' wells. For example, the 40-acre Shaver-McDonald Lease that Texas Gas owns produced 1.1 billion cubic feet from the date of first production in 1963 to 1969. The McDonald Lease, which has 90 acres and was owned by independents, produced only .23 billion cubic feet in the same period. It is worth noting that Texas Gas was the only buyer in the field and it could control the amount of gas being taken from any particular well. Tightening valves meant smaller royalties and the "conditioning period" was most effective in forcing many of the farmers to "sell out." In effect, Texas Gas was stealing the gas from adjacent property.

THE PEVELER FAMILY of Midland, Kentucky saw their royalty checks dwindle to nothing. Some monthly checks had been very large—over $1000. The last check had been for something less than $10. The family was then approached by Texas Gas. While different members of the family were given varying offers, Texas Gas was consistent in its assertion that the Peveler well was now down to 25 pounds per square inch (psi). However, a friend of the family, who was employed by Texas Gas as a meter reader, told them that with the valves closed, their pressure was 400 psi (opened, and flowing into Texas Gas's lines, the pressure was still 360 psi). Actually, the day Texas Gas condemned and took possession of the Peveler wells—known not surprisingly as "the day of the taking"—the Peveler No. 1 well had 395.2 psi. Their No. 2 well registered 394.1 psi. (Eleven other wells were condemned the same day, and none recorded a reading of less than 200 psi. The readings centered in the 350 to 400 psi range). These readings were witnessed and attested to by Louis Jackson, a Texas Gas petroleum engineer, led to the spot by an enraged Baker. Needless to

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say, the Peveler family did not agree to the Texas Gas offer.

Neither is Charles Baker happy with Texas Gas. As he and his partner are one of the largest independent producers in the field, their settlement was in excess of $360,000 of the total "$10 million" paid by Texas Gas Transmission for the Midland Field. Of course, the landowners didn't collect anything approaching this amount. Much of this $10 million was spent on engineering reports, negotiating in "good faith," legal fees and general administrative costs. Baker estimates that the gas in the Midland Field, prior to production, was worth $50 million. The price of gas has already risen from 15 to 24 cents per thousand cubic feet, and, as soon as the Federal Power Commission can be convinced there is a national shortage of gas, the price will increase again. Baker conjectures that the worth of the field will double in a couple of years.

Ostensibly, this is irrelevant to Texas Gas, for it only wanted to establish an "underground storage area." By claiming it is a public service company, it has used state law to condemn the field as a storage area. But, by its own admission, there are still 60 billion cubic feet of untapped gas. The landowners insist there are 130 billion cubic feet. This, however, all becomes academic when Texas Gas asserts that it was only buying "storage rights" to a depleted field. Two of the three primary appraisers, Jerry Millard and Hugh Beck, have signed affidavits stating, "The appraisals made by us were only to cover the gas storage rights and based upon a depleted field and did not make any appraisal for any gas remaining in the place."

A third appraiser, appointed as were all others by Judge Philip Stone, said in a similar affidavit:

> ". . . He [Lindell Locke, Greenville] and the other two commissioners met with the county Judge and Dan Cornette, attorney for Texas Gas Transmission Corporation, and after being duly sworn by the county Judge, said commissioners attempted to visit the properties in question in each of said suits and after attempting to view same, returned to the office of Dan Cornette in Greenville, Kentucky, at which time Mr. Cornette advised the commissioners the amount that Texas Gas Transmission Corporation had purportedly offered the owners for their property rights and the commissioners made their appraisal based solely on information and data furnished to them by Dan Cornette. . . . Mr. Cornette directed Jerry Millard as to which amounts should be filled in each blank space of the reports of the commissioners that were furnished them by Dan Cornette. . . ."

In an interview with Judge Stone, the Judge assured us that, "These are fine men. . . . Yeah, they were all qualified." The next day we grilled the Judge with information we had gathered from other sources; he admitted that the three men had no experience whatsoever with gas appraisals and that the appraisers did not even know where the disputed areas were.

William Stanton, vice-president of Texas Gas, said with characteristic large corporation razzle-dazzle, "I have no knowledge of the appraisal. I don't know where they got them [the appraisers]." Dan Cornette, the above-mentioned Texas Gas attorney, when questioned concerning the content of the affidavits, replied, "You can get anybody to sign anything. It doesn't bother me at all what is in these affidavits. They don't amount to anything." *Louisville Courier-Journal* writer David Ross Stevens could not find a single landowner who had been consulted by any appraiser. Nor could we. Nor could we find one person who thought that Texas Gas had negotiated in "good faith," as is prescribed by Kentucky law. When Mrs. Bill Phillips (a member of the Peveler family) was asked if she thought that Texas Gas had negotiated in "good faith," she said, "I don't think so. I don't think they operate in good faith at all." James Brown, a neighbor of the Pevelers, whose property in Midland was also condemned, said, "There was no negotiating at all. They're a big company and pretty much get what they want." County Clerk J. C. Noffsinger, who has no claim in the field, says that Texas Gas has committed "piracy."

The need for gas companies to use depleted gas fields to provide better public service is well grounded in fact. The gas companies have contracts to buy from their suppliers at a constant rate year around, but natural gas is primarily a seasonal product subject to varying demand. Thus, the need for storage fields: Gas is transmitted over the long lines year around, and the gas that is not needed is simply diverted to storage areas. The customers' cold-spell peak demands are met and the gas companies are provided with a means of increasing their market.

Kentucky law allows private gas companies in "public service" to condemn land or mineral rights to establish an underground storage area. The law stipulates that "good faith" negotiations must be attempted before any condemnation procedures are pursued. Then, if the two parties are unable to reach an agreement, the county Judge is to appoint three appraisers. The law, a vestige of an "Old Railroad Act," is grossly unfair in that it does not require the appraisers to be qualified in gas and oil appraisals. The law requires only that the appraisers be landowners.

The intent of the law was to protect a storage field from siphoning by unauthorized wells. Until now the law has been used to condemn depleted fields only. The Midland Field is a new twist inasmuch as Texas Gas Transmission condemned a *producing* gas field and made awards only for the value of the storage area.

In addition to being clearly unethical, we believe the execution of condemnation in the case of the Midland Field was illegal. Negotiations conducted in "good faith" between the would-be condemner and the private owners were conspicuously absent. This legal step, prescribed in Kentucky Revised Statute 278.501, was blatantly ignored. Texas Gas simply told the property holders to take their offer or else. The poorest, the least educated, and the eldest "sold out." The others were herded through Judge Stone's jackrabbit court. *Courier-Journal* reporter Stevens wrote:

> "In one condemnation case the filing of the suit was received and stamped by the county clerk at 10:36 a.m., October 23, 1969. The report of the appraisers was received by the clerk at 10:37 a.m. the same day.
>
> "Asked how the appraisers could be appointed and the report com-

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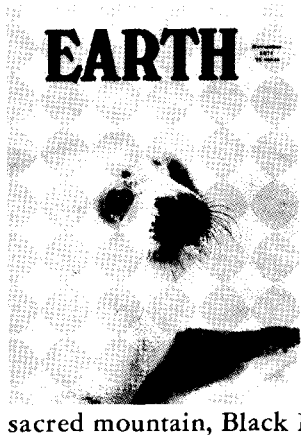

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piled in one minute, Judge Stone said, "Well, it might have all happened the same day, but possibly the girl in the clerk's office merely waited and recorded all the papers at the same time."

Texas Gas made a lot of money in Muhlenburg County. Third quarter profits for 1970 were up 42 percent from the previous year. W. M. Elmer, chairman and chief officer, admitted that its Trucking Services Division had been hurt by the general economy slowdown and some bad weather, but the Oil and Gas Division of Texas Gas had an especially strong third quarter. On February 23, 1971, the *Courier-Journal* business page headline read: "Texas Gas Reports Record Earnings of $2.79 a Share." Although the Trucking Services Division reported that revenues fell to $79.4 million from $89.3 million in 1969; and although Bauer Dredging Company (wholly owned subsidiary of Texas Gas) reported revenues falling from $24.2 million in 1969 to $11.3 million in 1970; and while Crestwave Offshore Service Inc. (another subsidiary) was wiped out by revenues falling from $9.7 million to $3.8 million; and even though the Inland Waterways Service Division reported lower operating profits, "The Oil & Gas Exploration and Production had its best year, with operating revenues rising 42 percent to $24 million." In what must be the understatement of the year, the company reported ". . . an exceedingly strong performance by the Gas Transmission Services Division. . . ."

But while 1970 was a near perfect year for the Gas Transmission Service Division of Texas Gas, 1971 has produced one minor setback for the big "public service" corporation. National Chemical Company (which, despite its aspiring name, is a small Louisville-based firm) owned a part of two wells, each of which was located on small tracts of land in the Midland Field. (By contrast, Baker owned a part of 18 wells and an interest in more than a thousand acres.) National Chemical, packing more muscle than Midland's farmers, was awarded $23,800 by the appraisers. National Chemical then appealed this award. Bill Stanton, aforementioned vice-president of Texas Gas, saw it this way: "National Chemical Company has an interest down there, and they say their part is worth nearly half a million. We're saying the value is more like $4000 or so. The court will have to decide." On April 11, 1971 the *Louisville Courier-Journal* reported an out-of-court settlement between Texas Gas and National Chemical: "Texas Gas will receive the underground gas zones it sought, National Chemical will retain a $23,800 award previously received as condemnation damages and will receive one billion cubic feet of natural gas from Texas Gas . . . the natural gas is worth at least $330,000." Actually, the combined awards are easily worth $400,000. This is, of course, nearly 100 times the Texas Gas appraised value as quoted by Stanton, and further proof that the landowners who "sold out" and those who have received awards for "storage rights" have been royally taken.

BUT THE MACHINATIONS OVER gas rights are only part of a larger scheme designed to fill Texas Gas's coffers: For one of the best kept secrets in Muhlenburg County is the more than one million barrels of oil that lie in the Midland Field. When the field was condemned to establish a "storage field," the oil strata, like the gas strata, was taken out of potential production. A 1965 geological survey done at the University of Kentucky admitted that the field contained oil, but insisted that the oil was too thick to be recoverable. Baker, the independent who has produced several hundred barrels of oil since this survey was written, argues that the survey is wrong, "Much of the oil produced [elsewhere] today is thicker than this oil. There's no question in my mind that the oil will be produced." Fred Cody, a consulting petroleum engineer in Evansville, Indiana, concurs with Baker. Thus, when the worth of the oil is added to the gas value, the result is an oil and gas field worth approximately $400 million. (And this estimate is most probably conservative.) Truly a hot piece of real estate. Not a bad investment for Texas Gas since they paid only $10 million for the field. A 40 to 1 return is remarkable by any standard.

Texas Gas is no piker outfit. Large and powerful, it has been able to condemn not only the entire gas field, but also the strata that contains the oil. As Charlie Baker became increasingly aware that his property was about to be stolen, he began an eleventh hour attempt to bring forth a producing well. Texas Gas knew full well that the oil was recoverable, and used every trick it knew to stop Baker. In this area there are only two companies that can "frack" a well (stimulate a well to begin oil production). Baker contacted both Dowell (Evansville, Indiana—a division of Dow Chemical), and Halliburton Services (Duncan, Oklahoma), and neither would offer its services. Texas Gas had contacted both and informed them the property claims were disputed. Halliburton wrote Baker on August 25, 1970: "Although Halliburton Services values the business of all of its customers, we cannot economically afford to run the risk of a suit for substantial damages for the performance of a fracturing job which might produce $1500 in revenue."

Baker contacted Dowell asking for the letter that had been sent by Texas Gas. Dowell sent a copy of the letter to Baker. In cloak-and-dagger terms, the letter stated:

> "Within the last week, we have received information that Baker and Williams have moved a rig upon the property at the location of old well No. 16,200 and are in the process of re-working same in another attempt to produce oil from the Bethel Sand in commercial quantities. We were advised that yesterday a truck of your company was observed at the scene and we assume that your company has been approached with respect to fracking the well in the Bethel formation.
>
> "If this is the case, we wish to hereby place you on notice that we will hold your company, as well as Baker and Williams, et al., strictly accountable for any damages that may occur to our storage zone as a result of such operations. Should a leak develop in this zone, or other damage occur which would affect its utility for the storage of gas, the entire Midland Field could be ruined."

Baker came to Lexington and asked Frank Walker, Director of the Division of Oil and Gas in the Department

(Continued on Page 58)

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Science Fiction Hawks and Doves: Whose Future Will You Buy?

THE MANY THOUSANDS OF READERS and several hundred writers who inhabit the chrome-plated world of science fiction have found themselves, in recent years, in a puzzling situation. Accustomed to decades of scorn ("What, you really read that crazy Buck Rogers stuff?") they now suddenly discover that their steadfast faith has been rewarded.

Science fiction novels and anthologies burgeon in the bookshops, *The Wall Street Journal* recently reporting that in the last five years, the number of science fiction novels published annually in the United States tripled from fewer than 60 to over 175. Science fiction films and TV productions receive larger budgets and a more respectful treatment than the potboilers of the past. The predictions of television in every home, radar, jet airliners, nuclear driven submarines and power plants, medical (and mind-altering) drugs, organ transplants and prostheses, cryogenics, monorails, electronic brains, and—holy of holies!—space ships carrying men safely to the surface of the moon and back to earth while scientific probes visit Mars and Venus—all of this is now the reality. Frederik Pohl, a leading science fiction author and editor (and in recent years a highly respected "futurist" capable of extracting large fees from major corporations in exchange for telling them what the future holds) has gone so far as to suggest that science fiction is the literature of reality, while the commonly held "realistic" fiction is in fact a species of fantasy.

But this triumph has had a bitter aftertaste. The trouble with the "science fiction world" in which we live is that technology, instead of bringing Utopia, has brought us to the edge of self-destruction. Instead of building a shining civilization, we are caught up in a menacing rearguard action against forces which make the very survival of civilization or of organic life itself beyond a relatively short period of years, a matter of serious debate. And as might be expected, the heightening awareness of this state of affairs has led to great discomfort in the science fiction community. It has led, in fact, to a schism between those who maintain science fiction's traditional values and others with a very different outlook. It is more than a generation gap; it is a serious philosophical confrontation mirroring that in the larger society.

by Richard Lupoff

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A MEMBER OF THE TRADITIONALIST CAMP will, of course, hold attitudes on many different issues; there is no party line which traditionalists support point-for-point. But there is a certain congruence of beliefs. Perhaps the prime characteristic is the overall optimism regarding the status quo and the course of human development, an optimism placing heavy emphasis on the benificent role of the machine. One may see as godfather to this group Jules Verne, himself an optimist whose faith seldom faltered, who upheld the established political, national, racial, and economic interests of France and of the growing bourgeoisie of which he was part.

Those science fiction writers who are in revolt against this position are suspicious of technology, to say the least, and pessimistic about the forseeable future. If there is a spirit hovering over the critical attitude this group has toward existing institutions, it would be that of H. G. Wells, along with Verne one of the fathers of science fiction and himself increasingly pessimistic about the future of mankind. From the start of his career to its end, Wells, a socialist and an internationalist, was deeply apprehensive about the misapplication of technology, and used his writing to popularize his apprehension. From the very early *The Time Machine* (1895) to *The Shape of Things to Come* (1933) and beyond, Wells' outlook was gloomy: in *Time Machine* he foresaw a division of humanity into a brutal and degenerate species controlling an effete, dispirited remnant of social man; in *Things to Come,* he chronicled the emergence of a joyless authoritarianism.

What Verne and Wells have to do with science fiction in the 1970s is not at all a mere matter of literary history. Verne held Wells and all he stood for in cordial despite, and the heirs of their respective traditions are still locked in struggle; a quick survey of the racks in any paperback bookshop provides ample evidence that the cleavage (albeit with some notable exceptions in the form of "hybrids") is deeper and broader than ever.

Science fiction is a very old class of literature, but its unique identity dates only from the founding of *Amazing Stories* magazine by Hugo Gernsback in 1926. While science fiction stories had appeared—alongside westerns, mysteries and other adventures—in the earlier pulp magazines, Gernsback gave science fiction its characteristic identification as fiction wedded to pulp magazines. Pulp fiction had certain distinctive characteristics. It was distinctly optimistic ("escapist"), extremely colorful ("lurid"), employed caricatures and stereotypes instead of characters (*vide* Doc Savage, Kimball Kinnison, Captain Future, etc.), and it was thoroughly dedicated to rapid and violent action amidst exotic settings (i.e., dealt in external rather than internal values). Classic pulp fiction—with its emphasis on the externality of things—was "Vernian" whether it happened to be about spacemen, pirates, cowboys or detectives. The prose style was subordinate to the gimmickry and plot. Subtlety, formal experimentation, obscurantist effect, and virtually any other deviation from the concrete and declarative, is alien and contrary to the pulp spirit. It is this spirit, as much as the romance with technology, that the dissident school of contemporary science fiction has opposed itself to. The innovators, in addition to criticizing accepted norms of social organization, experiment frequently with the prose form, thereby trying to build a "literature of the future" out of its crude lumpenprole past, or at least to bring science fiction up to the standards of general literature which passed it by decades ago.

AN ILLUMINATING MOMENT in the schism between the science fiction establishment and its foes came about in 1967 and 1968, when the science fiction community, like the rest of American society, engaged in loud debate over the Vietnam war. Starting at the Milford Conference in August 1967 (an annual science fiction writers' workshop) the proposal was made that science fiction writers express themselves on the issue of the war. The mechanism to be employed was left open: it might be a resolution of the Science Fiction Writers of America, or some other device. Those favoring a move argued that science fiction, dealing with the shape of social evolution, must address itself to such an issue. Those opposed argued that science fiction writers' conferences and organizations should be concerned only with professional matters.

The final result was not one but two statements, which appeared as paid advertisements in 1968 issues of *The Magazine of Fantasy and Science Fiction* and *Galaxy Science Fiction.* An examination of the signers of the two statements is illuminating as to the state of science fiction, a state which has continued to evolve since 1967–68 but which has not been *essentially* altered since then.

The "war" ad carried 72 signatures including those of

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Poul Anderson, Leigh Brackett, John W. Campbell, Hal Clement, L. Sprague de Camp, Edmond Hamilton, Robert A. Heinlein, Joe L. Hensley, R. A. Lafferty, Sam Moskowitz, Larry Niven and Jack Williamson. The "peace" ad carried 82 signatures including those of Isaac Asimov, Peter S. Beagle, James Blish, Anthony Boucher, Ray Bradbury, Terry Carr, Samuel R. Delany, Lester del Rey, Philip K. Dick, Thomas M. Disch, Harlan Ellison, Philip José Farmer, Harry Harrison, Damon Knight, Ursula K. LeGuin, Judith Merril, Joanna Russ, Robert Silverberg, Kate Wilhelm and Donald A. Wollheim.

The "peace" ad carried more names than the "war" ad even though it was signed exclusively by professionals while the other was padded with the signatures of fans. What is more significant is the fact that *every* author or editor who signed the "war" ad was a traditionalist. Whatever else divides these traditionalists, they are united by their engineering mentality and its preference for violent, repressive solutions to the political problems posed in its novels. These people seem convinced that the application of the right materials and the right forces will solve any problem. It is obvious in their fiction.

The late John W. Campbell was a clear example of this mentality. A former engineering student at MIT, Campbell rose to prominence as a science fiction writer in the 1930s. He wrote a number of impressive mood pieces and some intriguing intellectual puzzle stories. (One of the latter, "Who Goes There?" was adapted for the screen as *The Thing;* it is one of the classic 1950s science-fiction-as-paranoia films, antedating the more widely remembered *Invasion of the Body Snatchers* by half a decade).

But Campbell hit his stride in a series of superscientific technologically oriented novels like *The Black Star Passes* (1930) and *The Mightiest Machine* (1934). In these stories human values are absent, technology is glorified, force and destruction are implicit in the solution of all problems. While Campbell was the editor of *Astounding Science Fiction* magazine (from 1937 until his death in July 1971, although the magazine was renamed *Analog*), he "discovered" and guided the development of many of the leading authors of the late 1940s and '50s, contributed much to the development of science fiction, and boosted the circulation of his magazine to close to 100,000 copies, triple that of its nearest competitors.

Unfortunately, with the passing of time, Campbell fell increasingly prey to assorted crackpot and rightist notions. In 1947 he introduced to his readers L. Ron Hubbard's *Dianetics,* "the new science of the mind." The literature and procedures of Dianetics reveals it to be little other than a simplified version of orthodox Freudian theory—but restated in engineering-like terms, and offered with absolute guarantees of success. Later Campbell promoted the Hieronymous Machine—a device for concentrating psychic energy—and the Dean Drive, a sort of perpetual motion machine for powering spaceships. Still later Campbell's editorials "proved" that slavery was a desirable institution, that nonwhites are inherently inferior to whites, that the whole ecology/environmentalist movement was hysterical silliness, and that the four students killed at Kent State brought it on themselves and deserved what they got.

One of the classic functions of Wellsian science fiction is to act as a warning sign: *Here there be tygers!* Fiction which performs this function are dystopias, of which Orwell's *1984* and Huxley's *Brave New World* are among the best examples. This kind of science fiction asks, more specifically, What happens when urban decay is carried to a logical end? (This question is explored in Harry Harrison's *Make Room! Make Room!* and is examined, with slightly different results, by the English writer John Brunner in *The Jagged Orbit* and *Stand on Zanzibar*.)

But Vernian science fiction, "engineer's fiction," by virtue of its dedication to control, to predictability, to the finite, closed-end solution, finds itself incapable of tolerating a fictional situation lacking clear parameters. The engineer succeeds in dealing with machines; trouble arises for the engineering mind with the entrance of human factors.

It is no accident that science fiction traditionalists have usually either limited themselves to trivial technological stories (like those of Edmund Hamilton), or to brutal barbarian-world epics (like those of Lin Carter). There are those who attempt to write serious sociological science fiction, like the celebrated Robert A. Heinlein, but it tends to be a type of crypto-fascist propagandizing.

"Discovered" by Campbell via a story contest in *Astounding,* Heinlein was graduated from Annapolis in 1932 and, using his engineering background to good effect, quickly established himself as a leading producer of science fiction stories for *Astounding* and its now defunct companion *Unknown*

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Worlds. His production increased from two stories in 1939 to seven in 1940, thirteen in 1941. After Pearl Harbor he returned to naval services as a civilian engineer (he worked for a time with de Camp and Asimov); following the war he resumed writing and proceeded from success to success. He became probably the leading science fiction writer of the 1940s.

The typical Heinlein story was for many years a carry-over of the pulp tradition: a well-meaning and inoffensive young man is confronted by a villainous old fellow and/or a conspiracy; the two struggle—the villain fighting dirty, the hero clean—until the hero wins out, gets the girl, collects the fortune, and lives happily ever after. Examples are *The Devil Makes the Law* (1940) and *Citizen of the Galaxy* (1957).

This kind of simplistic morality makes for good adventure, but as a serious work it resembles a Barry Goldwater fantasy. (Heinlein was a vigorous Goldwater supporter in 1964; he was also a pioneer Bircher but resigned from the society because of its domination by crackpots rather than genuine reactionaries). As he became increasingly concerned over humanity's distressing pluralism, Heinlein's writing became increasingly bitter.

Starship Troopers (1959) projects a society in which only veterans of military service are permitted to vote. Beyond this notion, however, the real message of the book is that the universe is populated with alien intelligences inherently inimical to humanity: that the exploration of other worlds *must* be a matter of war to the death. This story caused a furor in the science fiction community; both James Blish and Gordon Dickson wrote rather good novels in rebuttal; Heinlein also won the Hugo, the annual award of the science fiction fans, for the best novel of the year.

In 1961, with *Stranger in a Strange Land,* Heinlein—never dreaming that he would become a cult hero for the hippies—entered a strange territory himself. The book is a weird and confused jumble of mysticism, brotherly preachiness, and attempts at sexual liberation. (David Crosby used the term "water brothers" in his song "Triad".) The book's notion of "discorporation" of enemies was cited by Charles Manson as the inspiration of his own bloody exploits.

Heinlein made his statement on the subjects of power, sex and race in *Farnham's Freehold* (1964). Written during the fallout shelter craze, its hero is a rugged, virile John Wayne type who is thrown into the future by a Soviet nuclear attack. Along with him go his alcoholic wife, his daughter, his weakling son, the son's fiancée and their Negro houseboy, who is frequently referred to as "a gentleman" (which means that he turns his back in cramped quarters rather than see a naked white woman). We learn that a combine of third world races has picked up the remains of the US-USSR debacle and established a pretty good world order based loosely on classic Moslem culture. We only gradually realize that surviving whites are divided into two categories—house slaves with the males being "tempered" (castrated) and the females kept in harems between service as "bedwarmers" for their masters and the breeding stock who, we find out much later, serve ultimately as food for the colored masters.

Two years later *The Moon is a Harsh Mistress* appeared; it is, essentially, the story of the war of independence of the moon against the earth. It clearly depicts Heinlein's notion of an ideal society: a kind of rightist-anarchist state operating virtually without a government. Social Darwinism and economic determinism take care of everything; the strong and the competent survive, the weak and the foolish perish. For the minimal government preserved, Heinlein's hero and a few cronies set up a mock constitutional convention where all of the word-benders, hair-splitters and democratic rhetoricians can debate to their heart's content while a little cabal of self-appointed elitists quietly go off and run the world.

Heinlein's latest book, *I Will Fear No Evil* (1970), is slow-moving and almost plotless, but reveals the author's attitude toward the problem of urban development (big-city decay) and his feelings about women's proper role.

The story portrays a crusty old billionaire who undergoes a brain transplant, finds himself turned into a beautiful young woman and enjoys his/her new gender-role, finally dying in childbirth. Throughout the book we see Heinlein striving for liberation and failing to attain it. The protagonist is clearly entranced with the prospect of sampling psychedelics yet instead drinks alcohol for the explicit purpose of "getting tiddly." (This is intriguing, for as early as *The Puppet Masters* (1951) Heinlein permitted his hero and heroine to use a clear analog of "speed" to crowd a month-long honeymoon into 24 hours.) In the cities of *I Will Fear No Evil,* the rich and powerful travel in armored cars, live in walled bastions surrounded by armed bodyguards, and venture beyond these safe confines at

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mortal peril, for the proles live unpoliced lives of degeneracy and filth. Well, let 'em, if they weren't naturally shiftless they'd be rich!

R.(aymond) A.(loysius) Lafferty represents an interesting contrast to Heinlein. A man surely "more Catholic than the Pope," he informs his stories with such passionate religion that they emerge from the page as a series of pious shrieks. Lafferty's religion is deeply rooted in the hope of heaven, and a logical chain can be discerned in them, of this nature: Heaven is a far better place than earth, and we can reach heaven only by dying (in a state of grace); therefore there is nothing more desirable than to die (in a state of grace).

Lafferty's novels such as *Fourth Mansions* (1969) and many of his short stories are cleverly constructed, brilliantly narrated, and do offer a way out of the dilemma of technology: we need only abandon our wicked worldliness, return to the sheltering arms of Holy Mother Church, and we and our descendants may die securely ever after, in a sort of perpetual Fourteenth Century, world without end, amen.

FORTUNATELY THE DEAD HAND of thirty years ago is not the only one that rests on the typewriter keyboard. Many science fiction writers—especially, younger ones—currently exhibit a concern and insight that leads them to make significant and useful statements in their works, statements concerning both the nature of individual life and relationships, and the structure of society.

These same writers often, if not unanimously, are striving with considerable success to broaden and update the lexicon of acceptable techniques, transcending the elementary narrative approach inherited from science fiction's pulp era.

A major influence in this area is the English author J.(ames) G. Ballard. In a series of novels such as *The Crystal World* (1966) and in many short stories, Ballard introduced a device to science fiction not unknown in other realms of literature but new here. Whereas most fiction is comparable to the motion picture, in that "something happens" (one scene), following which "something else happens" (second scene) and so on . . . Ballard's works are more nearly comparable to large-canvas paintings, upon which the artist first sketches his subject, then begins to add detail and color, working on, adding greater depth and impact and feeling, but never *changing* to another scene or event.

In this sense, it might be said that *nothing* happens in a Ballard story: in conventional fiction a serious indictment, in traditional pulp writing a mortal crime; but by insight, by powerful symbolism, by sheer strength of his statement, Ballard has forced his works upon a largely resisting science fiction field, and won acceptance and praise from that segment of the professional and readership groups sufficiently open to understand his art.

In Ballard's wake, and with the encouragement of such editors as Michael Moorcock, Judith Merril, and later Harlan Ellison, a new generation of English and American science fiction writers have attempted a more serious art and social comment. A listing of these writers, assuredly subject to debate and addition, must reasonably include Brian Aldiss, John Brunner, Moorcock himself, and in America Philip K. Dick (a contemporary and fellow pioneer of Ballard's), Thomas M. Disch, Samuel R. Delany, and (in his later works) Robert Silverberg.

The serious fiction of these authors does not contain many (if any) utopias. Somehow the era of grandiose socially-engineered schemes for universal happiness expressed in fiction is not now: it was the age of Bellamy; it had been the age of Verne; but Wells was unable to sustain it; Huxley set a minor-key tone and Orwell placed the seal of death on fictional utopias. The Gernsback-pulp school, drawing inspiration from Verne, did attempt to portray glittering futures, but somehow failed, leaving the field of all serious, future-oriented fiction to other tasks. And because science fiction of serious intent has in recent years devoted itself to the tasks of identifying *questions* and illuminating multiple answers, there is plenty to keep it busy.

That the conclusions reached are usually pessimistic is not necessarily evidence that no assistance is offered in building a decent and viable future society. As analyst, satirist, critic and prophet, the writer of science fiction offers just as valuable aid through questioning and warning of dangers as he would by holding out glowing hopes of salvation.

There is no one person of Heinlein's stature writing this kind of science fiction, although a number of writers might vie for such a position: Dick, Frank Herbert (author of *Dune*), possibly Silverberg. But very likely the finest intellect in science fiction today is Thomas Disch.

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Disch's best book to date, *Camp Concentration* (1968), deals with the struggle-of-the-spirit of a war-resister, imprisoned in a military detention camp, held powerless and isolated from the outer world, striving to maintain a meaningful existence; from a position of dispassionate reporter, Disch's hero Sacchetti grows to the realization that life in a state of grace is not a matter of passive piety, but of conscience-driven commitment. In this novel Disch addresses what is surely a central issue for millions of persons today, who are aware of rottenness in society but undecided as to whether they shall act for reconstruction or simply withdraw from those parts of society most immediately offensive and "do their own thing."

Also of this party is Donald A. Wollheim, whose critical study of science fiction, *The Universe Makers* (1971), provides excellent insights into the conflicts and potential of this literary form. A radical since the 1930s, Wollheim has the broadness of view to see science fiction as a social phenomenon and an instrument of social criticism, although he understands that the political left has often not agreed. (In a recent letter he said "I was in the 1930s a premature anti-fascist and in favor of socialism . . . the real Communist Party people we met all disapproved strongly of science fiction and of our 'wasting our time' with escapists.")

Wollheim's book is distinctly personal and opinionated; in viewing science fiction as a social instrument, he rejects the Ballard-Aldiss-Moorcock group for excessive pessimism and prefers traditional narrative techniques to experiments, but he sees the thousands upon thousands of science fiction novels and stories as elements in a gigantic macro-history of the universe, in the ultimate chapter of which conscious intelligence will have established itself in a gigantic web, spanning the universe, and (at least in a metaphorical sense) achieving, creating, *becoming* God.

Seeing science fiction as a tool for criticism and construction, Wollheim ends his book by saying:

> *"We are not going to end with a bang.*
> *"We are not going to end with a whimper.*
> *"We are not going to end.*
> *"That's all."*

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The China Scholars and U.S. Intelligence

BEFORE ACTUALLY BOARDING AIR FORCE ONE for his February meeting with Chairman Mao, Richard Nixon will be forced to run a gauntlet of intelligence briefing sessions designed to bring him up to date on the latest Chinese developments. The cram course on contemporary China, programmed by CIA director Richard C. Helms, will range from an elementary Who's Who in the Chinese government and questions of unfamiliar proletarian protocol—e.g., What should Pat Nixon say to Mme. Mao, the militant leader of the Peking Red Guards? —to more esoteric information not generally found in either the *New York Times* or the *Peking People's Daily* Sunday Supplement. More or less hard answers to questions like "Whatever happened to Lin Piao, Chairman Mao's ex-close-comrade-in-arms?" "What progress are Chinese rocket experts making with their long range missile systems?" "How do the factions within the People's Army and Communist Party line up in the present leadership struggle?"

In order to provide Nixon with the data he needs on this trip, Helms is able to cull the output of hundreds of mil-

by David Horowitz

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"...what we have in China studies is the clearest case yet in which the big foundations and the State Department founded, funded, nurtured, and directed an entire academic field."

itary and civilian radio intercept operators, who listen-in on a rotating shift, round-the-clock basis to Chinese radio transmissions. Also mobilized are the battalions of cryptographers at Fort Meade, Md., trying to break Chinese military, diplomatic and commercial codes; the covert operators in such places as Hong Kong and Singapore, busily suborning Asian journalists; and, more prosaically, the dozens of linguistically trained Ph.D.'s hard at work in Langley, Va., translating Chinese telephone books. But there is another intelligence network on which Nixon will rely which is just as vital, if somewhat smaller and more loosely articulated. This is the academic phalanx of American China scholars: the once scorned and now twice-rewarded denizens of a startling variety of scholarly and semi-scholarly institutions. These range from conglomerate think tanks like the RAND Corporation, and elite centers of corporate-academic cross-fertilization like the Council on Foreign Relations to seemingly more chaste academic set-ups like the East Asian Institutes at Harvard and Columbia. But the distinctions are more apparent than real, for what we have in China studies is the clearest case yet in which the big foundations and the State Department founded, funded, nurtured and directed an entire academic field, providing at last a definitive answer to the age-old question: "Who shall educate the educators?"

[AN INTELLIGENCE WHO'S WHO]

FOLLOWING THE MC CARTHY FREEZEOUT China scholars began to come in from the cold in the early Kennedy years. Something of the origins of the American China scholar intelligence network that subsequently developed can be gleaned from a private letter written in 1962 by the head of the State Department's Bureau of Intelligence and Research (BIR), Dr. Allen Whiting. This letter, made available by its recipient, who at that time was the head of Berkeley's Center for China Studies, aimed to recruit him to the BIR's "elite project." Who was going to take over after Chairman Mao?, the BIR wanted to know. "Experience with post-Stalin Russia," Whiting wrote, "has shown the importance of anticipating succession crises in communist countries and especially of understanding the significance of their outcome in terms of changes in communist policy." American intelligence had already sifted *prima facie* evidence suggesting conflicts within the Chinese leadership. Whiting complained, however, that inadequate attention to the make-up of the factions "has left us with no firm picture of attitudes held by competing groups on such key questions as the allocation of resources of industrial, military and agricultural development, the handling of non-communist scientists and bureaucrats, and the role of the armed forces for advancing China's goals in Asia." The proposed project would begin to make up this deficiency in analysis and information, and "provide a foundation for ongoing research and revision in subsequent years."

In addition to the recipient of Whiting's letter, top personnel of three of the four remaining major academic centers for studies of contemporary China: Harvard, Columbia and Michigan (including Professors John Lindbeck, Howard Boorman and Alexander Eckstein) were invited to engage in the BIR's classified projects. No academic military expert was available for the project, Whiting noted, but "this will be remedied by utilizing government personnel and by informal consultation with Mrs. Alice Hsieh of the RAND Corporation."

Dr. Whiting is now Professor Whiting of the University of Michigan's prestigious Center for Chinese Studies. His 1962 group turned out to be a small State Department acorn which would mature into a mightier academic oak. In April 1964, Whiting represented his Bureau at an academic conference held in New York which was concerned with "Research on the Government and Politics of China." Made possible by funds from the Ford Foundation, the Greyston Conference was intellectually sponsored by the Joint Committee on Contemporary China (JCCC), which was in effect the supreme council of contemporary academic China studies. The JCCC was itself funded by Ford through the Social Science Research Council (SSRC) and the American Council of Learned Societies (ACLS), two immensely influential foundation conduits. The planning of the conference was the work of Professors George E. Taylor, John M. H. Lindbeck (of the Whiting project) and A. Doak Barnett, together the first three chairmen of the JCCC. (Taylor was the head of the fifth and final major academic center, the Far Eastern Affairs Institute at the University of Washington, Seattle.)

Intended to create an ongoing academic interest in China's government and politics, the conference was presented with guidelines for research by A. M. Halpern of the RAND Corporation, a charter member of the JCCC before leaving to serve on the China project of the Council on Foreign Relations, which was subsequently to play a critical role in eventually transforming US China policy (see "The Making of America's China Policy" in RAMPARTS, October 1971). Not surprisingly, Halpern's suggested guidelines followed and extended the pattern of the Whiting project. Noting the "lack (of) a coherent theory of the present nature of the sources of power and the distribution of these sources of power among the various newly constructed institutions" in China, and the evidence that "resistance has taken place at almost all parts in this revolutionary process," Halpern described a challenging exercise in intelligence analysis for the assembled Chinese scholars: "The indicated research problem is the determination of what the actor roles are, who occupies them, and what kinds and degrees of influence the actors have over what resources."

After the Greyston Conference, the Joint Committee on

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Contemporary China issued a Subcommittee on Chinese Government and Politics, whose mandate was to pursue and fund related topics on these problems. Berkeley Professor Robert A. Scalapino was made chairman of the committee, which included Barnett, Lindbeck and Taylor, all of whom doubled as State-Defense Department advisers and administrators of powerful university institutes at Columbia, Harvard, Seattle and Berkeley.

In the summer of 1964, a new conference was convened under sponsorship of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, which had recently begun to underwrite counter-insurgency research under the rubric of small arms control. John M. H. Lindbeck chaired the conference which was designed to bring government and academic researchers together to once again address themselves to the problem. The Whiting people were there (including Whiting himself, Eckstein and Mrs. Hsieh) as was JCCC chairman George E. Taylor. One visible fruit of the encounter was a $622,000 grant from the Arms Control Agency for a project at Columbia's East Asian Institute on "Leadership in Communist China." The Columbia Research Proposal is a virtual paraphrase of parts of the Whiting letter: "Communist China today is on the verge of an historic transitional period when the first generation of revolutionary leaders will pass from the scene. . . . There are reasons to believe that even under the seemingly monolithic leadership dominated by Mao, there has been a slow but steady development over time of significant differentiation among Communist leaders. . . ."

The Chinese leadership project and the conferences, study groups and organization associated with it, cannot in any sense be seen as a corrupted part of contemporary China studies in America's universities resulting from government intrusions into the academic field. These projects *are* contemporary China studies as they exist today, and *as they were originally created.* Put in blunter terms, the $100 million academic field of contemporary China studies (now about a decade and a half old) was set up precisely to provide to the state such services as those Helms, Kissinger and Nixon will now be drawing on. It would not in any remotely comparable sense exist *at all* if it were not technically able or professionally willing to provide such services. This is the logical result not only of the present structure of the field, but the very history of its origins and development.

[OSS AND FULL PROFESSORS]

THE CRUCIBLE OUT OF WHICH CONTEMPORARY China studies was born, like its counterparts in other fields, was the wartime Office of Strategic Services. The OSS has been aptly described by Roger Hilsman, formerly Whiting's superior in the Bureau of Intelligence and Research and now appropriately a Professor at Columbia's School of International Affairs: "When OSS, America's wartime secret intelligence service, was set up in 1941, one of the basic ideas behind it was the novel and almost impish thought that scholars could in some respects take the place of spies." *(Strategic Intelligence and National Decisions)*

The need for trained intelligence personnel revealed by the war was emphasized to a congressional committee in 1952 by Dean Rusk, then president of the Rockefeller Foundation, one of the key agencies responsible for the postwar development of international studies:

> "In 1941 and 1942, when I was in the Military Intelligence . . . there came a point where it was of the greatest importance for us to encourage concentrated attention on what was then called the weird languages, such languages as Indonesian, Burmese, some of the Indian dialects, some of the languages of Indochina. . . . I doubt, for example, that up until a year ago there were more than a half dozen Americans in the entire country who knew very much about Indochina, and there were perhaps not a dozen who had much of a knowledge of a country like Indonesia, except businessmen who might have been established in plantations rather isolated and remote from the great stream of Indonesian life. So, we have attached considerable importance to these area studies [i.e., the postwar university programs funded by the Rockefeller Foundation]."

Into the wartime gap in the government's knowledge of "weird languages" and areas were thrust the existing academic experts and available research institutions. Speaking as a former military intelligence officer with responsibility for the Pacific islands, Australia, New Zealand, Malaya, and Burma, Rusk noted the "desert of information" about the areas at the time and recalled that in this situation "the intelligence agencies of the government had leaned heavily on the Institute for Pacific Relations." This institute had been created principally with Rockefeller Funds in 1925, and for the next quarter of a century was the center of organized research in the Far East. Drafted for military service when the Pacific war erupted, it performed its professional best, and in 1945 received the Navy Certificate of Achievement for providing intelligence on the Pacific Theater of Operations. The IPR also provided agents and operatives to the government services. These included the pioneers of the postwar area studies programs, including Harvard's John King Fairbank, his wartime boss George E. Taylor, his co-organizer of area studies at Harvard, Edwin O. Reischauer, and John M. H. Lindbeck.

While the handful of academic mandarins with a knowledge of foreign areas and the proper elite connections were running the OSS and the Office of War Information, steps were taken to develop crash programs for military personnel in Dean Rusk's "weird languages." After the war, this military-trained language group eventually provided the vast majority of second-generation academic scholars in the field.

"When OSS, America's wartime secret intelligence service, was set up in 1941, one of the basic ideas behind it was the novel thought that scholars could . . . take the place of spies."

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"... massive intervention on the part of Carnegie and Rockefeller Foundations created a whole new institutional complex ... to overpower the traditional university ...."

Indeed, the war was hardly over when a concerted effort was launched to create an academic infrastructure embracing the concept of strategic area studies found to be so useful in the conflict. A major promoter of this effort was the Council on Foreign Relations (then headed by sometime CIA director Allen Dulles), which organized a series of six regional conferences in 1946 on "teaching and research in international relations."

Resistance to the new "area studies" concept in the traditional academic faculties, however, was very strong. University studies in Chinese, at the time, were mainly confined to philology, literature and ancient history and were carried on by isolated individuals in a handful of departments of "Oriental Languages." An academic specialty in the Chinese or Russian "area" would have been incomprehensible to most of these scholars. The State, intelligence, and military agencies of the government may have experienced needs for "area experts" during the War, but few self-respecting academic departments could relate to such a policy-generated intellectual category. Since experience had shown that to override academic prerogatives and revolutionize existing academic departments from within was virtually impossible, it was necessary to create a whole new institutional complex as a base from which to overpower the traditional university and make it responsive to the research needs and training imperatives of an imperial world strategy. This was accomplished by a massive intervention on the part of the Carnegie and Rockefeller Foundations (later joined by Ford) and their satellite creations, the American Council of Learned Societies and the Social Science Research Council.

The role of these foundations in creating institutes of Russian, Middle Eastern and Chinese Studies can hardly be underestimated, since there was neither money nor enthusiasm for the new development within the universities themselves. In the words of the US Office of Education Report on Language and Area Centers:

> "It must be noted that the significance of the money (granted for these programs) is out of all proportion to the amounts involved since most universities would have no center program had they not been subsidized. Our individual inventories indicate clearly the lack of enthusiasm as well as of cash on the part of most college administrations for such programs."

As for the faculties, those traditional departments which failed to go along with the new developments—particularly in the Oriental field—were shunted aside and left to wither for lack of funds.

[MC CARTHY'S CHINA WAR]

WHILE SLAVIC STUDIES WERE PUSHED FORWARD in ambitious programs funded by the foundations, intelligence and military agencies all working harmoniously in the "bi-partisan" atmosphere of the day, the development of China studies suffered a paralyzing blow, as a result of the schism over official policy, which revolved around the demagogic figure of Senator Joseph R. McCarthy. In 1950, less than a year after the victory of the Chinese Revolution, banner headlines announced that Owen Lattimore, one of the most prestigious China scholars in the country, had been identified by Senator McCarthy as the chief Soviet agent in America. The Institute for Pacific Relations, which had been drawn on so heavily for policy advice and information, was already under assault by the McCarran Committee, and in the controversy that ensued was to receive its death-blow. (The Rockefeller Foundation withdrew its funding in 1952.)

In the critical events surrounding the McCarran and McCarthy investigations, the mandarins of the China service and the China institutes revealed themselves as partisans in the split. In the polemics of the witchhunt, as in the internal government debates over China policy, George E. Taylor and John King Fairbank, for example, who had worked together in the OSS, in the Office of War Information (OWI), at the State Department, and in the fraternity of professional academic China scholars, came out on opposite sides of the political fence. Taylor's aggressive role as a McCarthy partisan in the witchhunt, which destroyed the careers of more than a few of the country's most notable China experts, would long be remembered by those colleagues who remained to bear witness.

Fairbank, who had himself been named as a communist and denied it under oath, cut a weak figure by contrast. "I am a loyal American," he assured the witchhunters, and—as if that were not enough to appease them—a capitalist as well: "I am engaged in one form of American free enterprise. My university is a private American corporation. . . ." But Fairbank's pleas for rationality on the part of the House Committee and his previous service to American state policy in Asia were of no avail, and by an irony which may have amused his opponents in the bureaucracies of Moscow and Peking, this enthusiastic servant of American power was condemned by McCarthyism to years of exile as a mere academic at Harvard. So vindictively effective was Fairbank's banishment from Washington that as late as 1965, when invited to an advisory session with State Department officials, he was prevented from actually entering the State Department offices and was forced to meet officials in an apartment thoughtfully provided by John D. Rockefeller IV.

Fairbank's "banishment" to Harvard underscores the crucial point in understanding the McCarthy attack on the China field, namely, that it was not, as is often implied, an invasion of the academic enclave by political forces, so much as an *intra-bureaucratic struggle within the government,* and specifically within those agencies of the state charged with responsibility for China policy. The principal

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targets of the assault were deeply and officially involved in the making of US China policy. Ranged on one side of the dispute were policy officials like Ambassador Bullit who wanted a larger military and economic intervention in behalf of Chiang, and on the other side those like Fairbank and Lattimor (a State Dept. adviser) who argued that no amount of military and economic aid to Chiang could save his regime, and that such aid as was sent—while US policy was tied to his regime—"plays into communist hands."

That some of the State Department experts attacked by McCarthy were also professors explains how intellectual issues became involved; but they were attacked because they were intelligence agents and policymakers during an unsuccessful intervention in an epoch-making civil war, not because they happened to have eccentric or unorthodox ideas on modern China.

[THE CHINA STUDIES SCHISM]

AFTER THE MC CARTHY PURGES, Fairbank and Taylor were the only two significant China experts to survive and retain positions of power in the university. In the ensuing years, Fairbank swung right with the political tides and applied his considerable administrative and entrepreneurial skills to the development of a new generation of China scholars, for whom he became a kind of guardian sponsor and promoter. While Washington remained off-limits to him, Harvard was itself a veritable center of intelligence and other governmental activities and Fairbank was not neglected by the more sophisticated wings of the corporate elite. In 1955, he was able to set up an East Asian Research Center at Harvard with several hundred thousand dollars from Ford and Carnegie for studies of China's present-day economy and politics. When in 1958 he was elected president of the Association for Asian Studies (AAS), it was an accurate recognition of his influence and standing in the China field.

While Fairbank was building up a wide academic following, and staffing the Oriental departments of the major universities with his students, George Taylor was creating an important center of Chinese studies in Seattle, built around scholars like Karl Wittfogel. Taylor's pro-McCarthy sympathies insulated him from the Washington cold. He was able to render such services as lecturing at the Air War and Army War Colleges and acting as an official US delegate to SEATO in 1957. On the other hand, because of his role in the McCarthy hearings and his right-wing views, Taylor was isolated from his academic colleagues in the major centers of higher learning across the country.

This situation created a serious problem in the organization of China expertise from a long-range planning point of view. The most powerful administrative figure in academic China studies was, despite his continuing loyalty to the flag and the free enterprise system, *persona non grata* in Washington and was tarred with a reputation (somewhat unjust in view of his more recent attitudes) of being soft on communism and Mao; his principal counterpart, who *was* welcome in government circles, was *persona non grata* in the academic profession and also overcommitted to Chiang

"After the McCarthy purges... it was increasingly urgent, from a U.S. policy point of view, to heal the breach ... to re-establish intelligence channels from the government to academia."

from a long-range perspective. Fairbank and Taylor represented, in short, the political exhaustion of a generation. If they joined hands in a gesture of unity however, they could pave the way for a new alignment of forces in the China field. It was increasingly urgent, from a US policy point of view, to heal the breach and forestall possible new splits over the charged issue of China policy. Such a peace was needed to re-establish intelligence channels from the government to academia. The cooperation of these two professors—Fairbank in particular—was essential, moreover, on the academic side in making the effort a success. But Taylor and Fairbank could not themselves be on the steering committee, as it were, within the foreign policy elite; they could not be the key operatives moving between government, foundation and campus in setting up the new networks and structures. That was a role for men less identified with the bitter policy struggles of the past, less vulnerable to attack from political dissidents, but thoroughly integrated into the CFR policy elite: A. Doak Barnett and John M. H. Lindbeck, for example.

[ORGANIZING A FIELD]

BORN IN CHINA, A. DOAK BARNETT was the son of a missionary who rose in the YMCA hierarchy to become the senior secretary of the International Commission for China. Almost fifteen years younger than the Fairbank-Taylor-Lattimore group, Barnett was not involved in the China policy debacle, although his older brother Robert was a member of IPR and a career officer in the State Department at the time. After receiving an M.A. in political science from Yale in 1947, Doak Barnett went to China and the Far East as a correspondent for the *Chicago Daily News* and a fellow of the Institute of Current World Affairs. In 1949 his brother was put in charge of Western European economic affairs and the following year Doak joined the Economic Cooperation Administration, then headed by Paul G. Hoffman (who went on to Ford and the CIA, and of Bay of Pigs fame). In 1952 Barnett returned to the Far East as a public affairs officer attached to the US consulate in Hong Kong and spent another two years there as an associate of the American Universities Field Staff. In 1956, in a step which augured things to come, he joined his brother in the State Department as head of the department of foreign area studies at the Foreign Service Institute. The following year, he was called on by the Council on Foreign Relations to head the first CFR study group on China policy since the revolution.

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Illustration by Jim McConnell

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The CFR study group on "Communist China and United States Policy in Asia," which met during 1958 and 1959, included such figures as Robert R. Bowie, who had been a special adviser to John J. McCloy, US High Commissioner in Germany and had just completed terms as Director of the Policy Planning Staff of the State Department (1953–55) and Assistant Secretary of State for Policy Planning 1955–57), Major General Paul W. Caraway, Assistant Chief of Staff, Far Eastern Command (1956–57), and currently a member of the joint strategic survey council of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, William Hollister, CIA, and Dean Rusk, then president of the Rockefeller Foundation. Also present were Richard L. Walker, C. Martin Wilbur, head of Columbia's East Asian Institute, and John M. H. Lindbeck.

The pivotal significance of the CFR study group on China, which resulted in a large volume by group director Barnett *(Communist China and Asia: Challenge to American Policy)*, can best be seen in the events that followed. In 1959 the AAS's Advisory Committee on Research and Development (chairman: William Lockwood, CFR) appointed a special three-man committee headed by AAS President John Fairbank, and including C. Martin Wilbur, to organize a Ford-funded meeting of China scholars at Gould House to discuss the future of China studies, the possible investment of large funds, and the creation of a committee (eventually the JCCC) to centralize standards, and inevitably directions, for the field. Present at the conference from the academic side were sixteen China scholars, including Fairbank, Lockwood, Boorman and Pye of the CFR, and from the study group itself, Richard Walker, C. Martin Wilbur and John M. H. Lindbeck. RAND had one representative present, A. M. Halpern, the State Department had one, and the Ford Foundation had a team of four, which included a new "program associate": A. Doak Barnett.

Barnett was not just one of several Ford representatives at Gould House. Together with John B. Howard (CFR, Director of International Training and Research at Ford and previously a regional planning adviser in the State Department), who was also present at Gould House, Barnett subsequently "drew up [the] memoranda on research and training on China for action by the trustees of the Ford Foundation." The action then taken by Ford on the basis of these memoranda was on a scale, for a specific field, without parallel in the history of educational investment. "In this decade (1959–1969) the Ford Foundation expended about $28 million in the United States and $2.5 million abroad to achieve the objectives it set itself in 1959."

While the Ford money was the critical factor in creating the structures and setting the directions of the field, financially speaking it was just the beginning. Universities are estimated to have spent another $15 to $20 million during the decade in support of the foundation-sponsored projects in the China field. To this can be added $15 million in NDEA funds for language training, and another $8 million from "other governmental and private agencies" for research generally of a policy-oriented character. In short, about $70 million (and estimates less conservative than these run as high as $100 million) was expended in a single decade on a field so small that at the beginning of the period in question there were only 100 graduate students in it in the entire country. In the circumstances it is probably futile to speculate on the extent to which the funds (and their controllers) exerted an influence on the direction of China studies, the kind of research undertaken, and the political and methodological biases promoted simply because there is probably no limit, or one so minor as to be insignificant.

According to George Taylor's history of the JCCC, the Ford Foundation made two key structural decisions in funding the field:

> "Of crucial importance was the Foundation's decision to support a scholarly committee, not necessarily a committee of the Councils, in order to help plan, organize, coordinate, advise, and stimulate activities on a national level. This the Foundation has done, and the [JCCC] has indeed played a major role in helping to achieve those objectives listed in the Foundation's program with which it agreed. . . . The second major objective, which was to support the development of training and research programs at the universities, was carried out by the Foundation itself. Primary attention was given to developing programs at four universities which had strength in both Chinese and Russian studies—Harvard, Columbia, Berkeley, and the University of Washington. . . ."

While the JCCC and its spin-off committees provided an essential means for coordinating research at the national level, the bulk of funds and the principal bases of influence were lodged in the four privileged university institutes, particularly the largest and most prestigious of these, Harvard and Columbia.

Accordingly, in 1961, Doak Barnett left Ford to become a full professor of political science at Columbia and chairman of the Contemporary China Studies Committee there. As head of contemporary China studies at Columbia, Barnett had as many as 50 graduate students working under him at a single time. Combined with his access to Ford funds and his entree to the upper circles in Washington and New York, this would have enabled Barnett to wield unusual power in any academic field. But in Chinese area studies, which had only 700 graduate students by the end of the decade, Barnett's position was virtually unique. He utilized this power to develop a research and training program strongly directed toward US policy and intelligence needs and to advance students with a clear service orientation to positions of academic responsibility and power.

[MAKING THE CONNECTIONS]

BARNETT'S LEAP FROM FORD TO COLUMBIA was an impressive one for a man with little academic background and no Ph.D. or scholarly publication to speak of, but then Ford eased the passage with a $1 million endowment to create a chair especially for the occasion. The administrative authorities at the university, President Grayson Kirk and Schuyler Wallace, themselves important members of the Council on Foreign Relations elite, were more than understanding. In that same year, Barnett became a member of the new Commit-

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"For the research methods and problems, the avenues to prestige and success in *academic* terms, are all defined in international studies by external agencies and institutions. . . ."

tee on the Economy of China, an important spin-off from the JCCC, and in 1963, continuing his disdain for intermediate steps, he became a member and chairman of the JCCC at the same time. There he joined his colleague in the Council on Foreign Relations, John Lindbeck.

In the interim, Lindbeck and Barnett had played roles of such perfect complementarity and (in terms of academic tradition) strong improbability that it would be surprising if they were not planned that way. In contrast to Barnett, Lindbeck possessed a doctorate in divinity and academic experience, beginning as a lecturer at the Princeton School of Military Government and advancing to an assistant professorship at Yale before going to the State Department in 1950. But nothing in his performance prior to the Council on Foreign Relations study group in 1958 would have suggested the instant academic eminence in store for him during the Ford decade. Lindbeck began his second academic career in 1958 as Deputy Director of the Research Project on Men and Politics in Modern China, headed by CFR member, former State Department officer (and Whiting Project associate) Howard L. Boorman.

In 1959, as Barnett moved to Ford to set up the China program, Lindbeck left Columbia to become Associate Director of Harvard's East Asian Research Center, and a charter member of the Joint Committee on Contemporary China. It was not only in the choice of institutions that the complementarity of the two careers manifested itself, but in the functional roles as well. Lindbeck made no attempt to assemble at Harvard the kind of student following (or cadres in training) that Barnett was to forge at Columbia. Lindbeck probably did not have the talents to fill such a role in any case; in a full decade at the top of his field, he did not even make the pretense of an intellectual contribution. But he did have a talent for administration and liaison, and it was as the "academic" link man in contemporary China studies that Lindbeck's career ultimately establishes its contours.

In 1966 Fairbank explained:

> "Since 1959, Dr. John M.H. Lindbeck, as associate director of this center, while participating in instruction at Harvard, has carried the main burden of contact with government agencies and, in large part, with the foundations and the national committees they support."

Four years later, at Lindbeck's funeral, this was the principal if not the sole theme of the eulogists' remarks:

> "There is no other individual who played as important, seminal, or decisive a role in the development of Chinese studies during the last decade. Whatever activity, whatever development, whatever committee or endeavor concerned with the advancement of Chinese studies in the last ten years, John was there, John was involved, and he made his influence felt. He was one of the founders and builders of the Joint Committee on Contemporary China and guided it as chairman from 1964 until very recently. He was one of the founders and the guiding force behind the Universities Service Center in Hong Kong. The same can be said of the Liaison Committee on Contemporary China through which the development of Chinese studies in the United States was brought into much more intimate contact with that in Britain, France, Germany, Japan, and several other countries. He was also there at the birth of the National Academy of Sciences Committee on US-China Relations. He served as chairman of the former and as vice president of the latter. . . . His advice was sought by our government and by a number of foundations. His latest and very significant contribution was to the Ford Foundation for which he just completed a worldwide survey of the state of modern and contemporary Chinese studies."

This account was seconded by Barnett: "John's special genius, . . . was a leader, organizer, and administrator of research and teaching programs." And Fairbank: "When historians eventually get around to studying the record of these years, they will find that John Lindbeck was at the center of the planning, negotiation, and persistent effort that produced a whole series of new institutions and activities to serve the profession." All this time, Lindbeck never lost contact with his old milieu in Washington and in the Council on Foreign Relations. From 1959 he served as a formal consultant to RAND, from 1961 to the Institute for Defense Analysis, and from 1963 to the State Department. In 1967, when Barnett left his academic position to go to Brookings, his successor as Director of Columbia's East Asian Institute was John M. H. Lindbeck.

The preeminent position of Barnett and Lindbeck, who walked out of the State Department and into the commanding positions of the academic contemporary China field, and who for eight critical years provided the key contacts between funding sources, academic projects and government agencies, and who played pivotal roles in creating new centralizing academic structures and in setting new national research priorities, would almost suffice in itself to explain the deflection of the field from any scholarly intellectual purpose in this period to one of dedicated government service.

But there is a danger in focusing on these individuals and overlooking the structural sources of their power and influence.

For the very structure of administration and innovation in the university, as revealed in this sequence of events, is firmly controlled by the network of CFR, foundation and corporate interests whose long-term dominance of the foreign policy machinery of the American state is equally a matter of historical record.

Nor, in the light of this history, can the subordination of the academic mind to *raison d'etat* be regarded as the result of an intrusion of external forces into an otherwise schol-

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arly sanctuary. On the contrary, it is scholarly interests and values that must intrude where and as they can into what is pervasively and traditionally a government and corporate preserve. For the research methods and problems, the avenues to prestige and success in *academic* terms, are all defined in the area of international studies by agencies and institutions dominated by these interests.

[WHAT'S TO BE DONE]

AT THIS POINT THE QUESTION NATURALLY arises as to whether anything short of a social revolution could change the situation to the advantage of those values of "disinterested scholarship" which provide the self-justifying rationale for the academic profession. The Asian field has been rocked more than most by the Vietnam war, and as a result is the only one in which the "radical caucus" has been organized as an independent association, calling itself the Committee of Concerned Asian Scholars. In 1969, a classical Chinese scholar at New York University, Professor Moss Roberts, in conjunction with the Columbia chapter of CCAS, began to probe the connections between the JCCC, the military and the academic China field. The preliminary results of their investigations were presented to the national convention of CCAS in 1970, in a document that has since become known as the "Columbia Report." The following May it was presented in an amplified version to the Association of Asian Studies itself.

At the AAS meeting, Professor Roberts introduced a resolution calling for the creation of a standing committee to investigate the JCCC, the SSRC and the Ford Foundation with reference to the problem of government-academic *liaison*. The Columbia Report had been already denounced at the convention by John King Fairbank, who compared the proposed professional investigation to the McCarran witchhunt of the IPR. Fairbank's analogy was so far-fetched that, while only a handful of professors thought it wise to oppose him publicly (Fairbank's control of patronage in what is still a relatively small field is enormous), the meeting nevertheless voted to refer the resolution to the AAS Executive for action.

Here the difficulties of working within the profession for its reform became apparent. Although the AAS is the largest and most prestigious body in the Asian field, it has virtually no funds, meets only once a year and lacks the cohesiveness, let alone the self-conception, to act as a political force. For these reasons it played a role of virtually no importance in the creation and shaping of the contemporary China field, and the same reasons made it a weak instrument for rectifying the results of the process.

In the nine months that have elapsed since the AAS voted in favor of the Roberts-CCAS resolution, no AAS investigation has taken place. Not even the standing committee to conduct such an inquiry has been appointed. Instead, after six months of inaction, the AAS Executive appointed a committee to advise it on the propriety of the Roberts Resolution. Then in November 1971, the AAS Board by majority vote decided that the proposed inquiry was outside the "constitutional jurisdiction" of the AAS, and should not be conducted.

> "Will this meeting mark the beginning of the disengagement of the academic troops from the imperial quagmire? One thing is certain, the way out is not to be found by going further in."

At first glance this seemed to be a peculiar decision for the governing body of the Association of Asian Studies to make. For, evidently, it was denying to itself the principal function of a professional association: to establish and enforce the standards and ethical guidelines under which its members could claim status as professionals. If the AAS was not the proper agency to conduct inquiries into ethical relationships in the field, and to render such judgments, what agency was?

A second glance, however, showed that this was not strange at all. For the Asian studies establishment that was powered by the prestige and influence afforded by institutes, foundations and government agencies was not different from the Asian studies establishment represented on the board of the AAS. To pick a symbolic figure: the president of the AAS, whose Executive dismissed the Roberts Resolution was C. Martin Wilbur, a central actor in the whole contemporary China studies sequence. A representative figure among the scholars in the OSS and the State Department in the early days, he was a member of the key CFR committee with Barnett and Lindbeck, an organizer of the Gould House Conference, the sponsor of Barnett at Columbia (as Director of the East Asian Institute) and a charter member of the JCCC.

If the action of the AAS Board was a foregone conclusion, however, the real struggle remained. In March, the AAS will have its annual meeting in New York. The *CCAS Journal* has recently published a special supplement—*Modern China Studies: How the Foundations Bought a Field*—which has been distributed to all AAS members. Professor Roberts has meanwhile expressed the determination of his CCAS group to continue the effort to create a committee on research organization and funding of the China field, as a first stage in promoting scholarly control of the means of scholarly production. Whether the March AAS meeting will mark the beginning—however modest—of the disengagement and withdrawal of the academic troops from the imperial quagmire remains to be seen. But one thing is certain. As in Vietnam, the way out is not to be found by going further in; if the Asian scholars do not act this year to restore integrity and scholarly purpose to their field, they will face an even greater and more daunting task tomorrow.

David Horowitz, an editor of RAMPARTS, *studied classical Chinese at the University of California, Berkeley. His most recent book is* Empire and Revolution *(Random House).*

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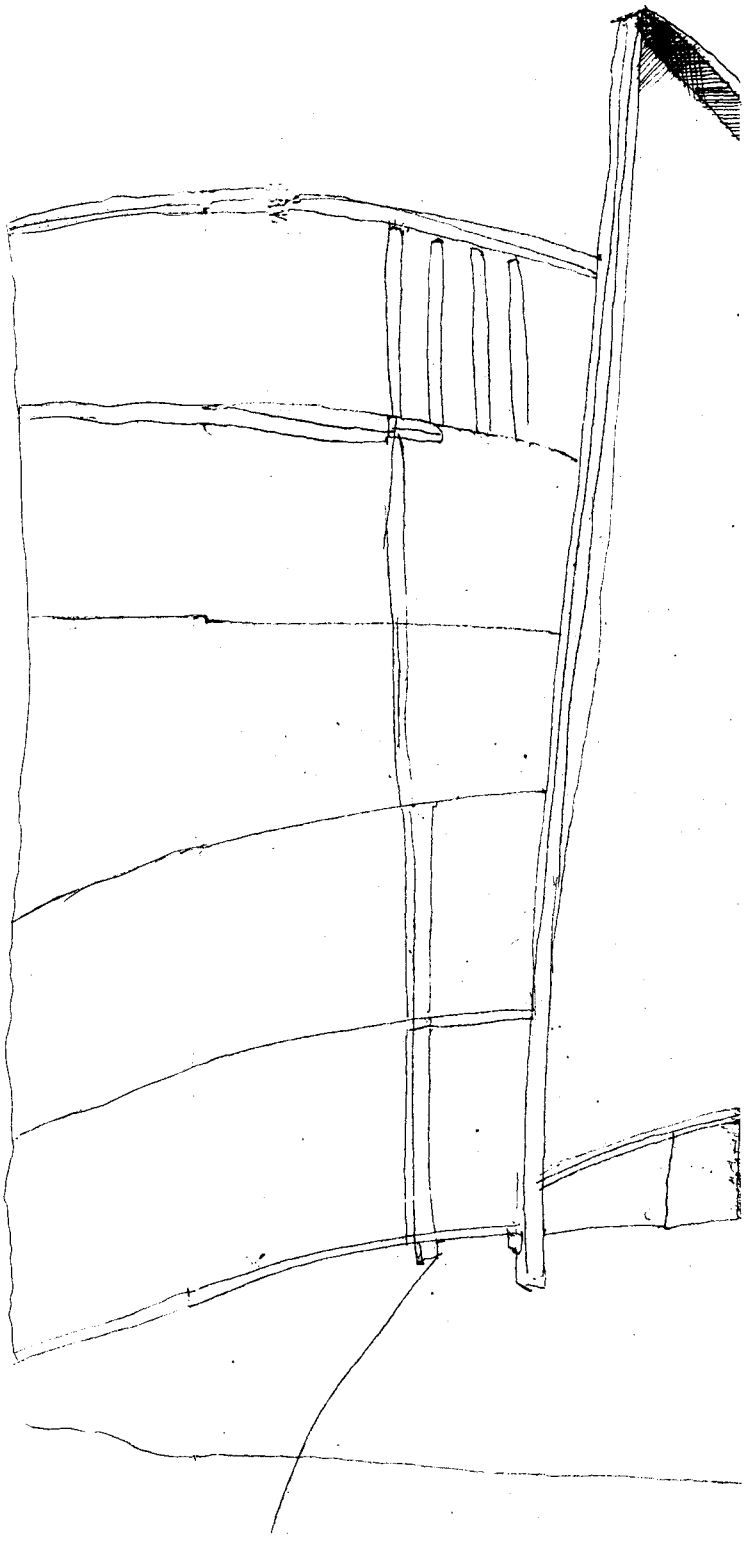

Organizing Behind Bars

by Frank Browning

ON A MORNING EARLY IN NOVEMBER 1970, just 30 miles from Governor Ronald Reagan's headquarters in Sacramento, the 2000 inmates at California's Folsom Prison stopped. They stopped washing clothes. They stopped fixing lunch. They stopped scouring the floors. They stopped making license plates. By the time most rush-hour commuters were parking their cars to go to work, every job at Folsom, except critical hospital care, had been shut down. Bulls, wardens and job supervisors throughout the prison ran scared—and with good reason. For, unlike previous abortive attempts at inmate strikes, this operation had been pulled off with precise

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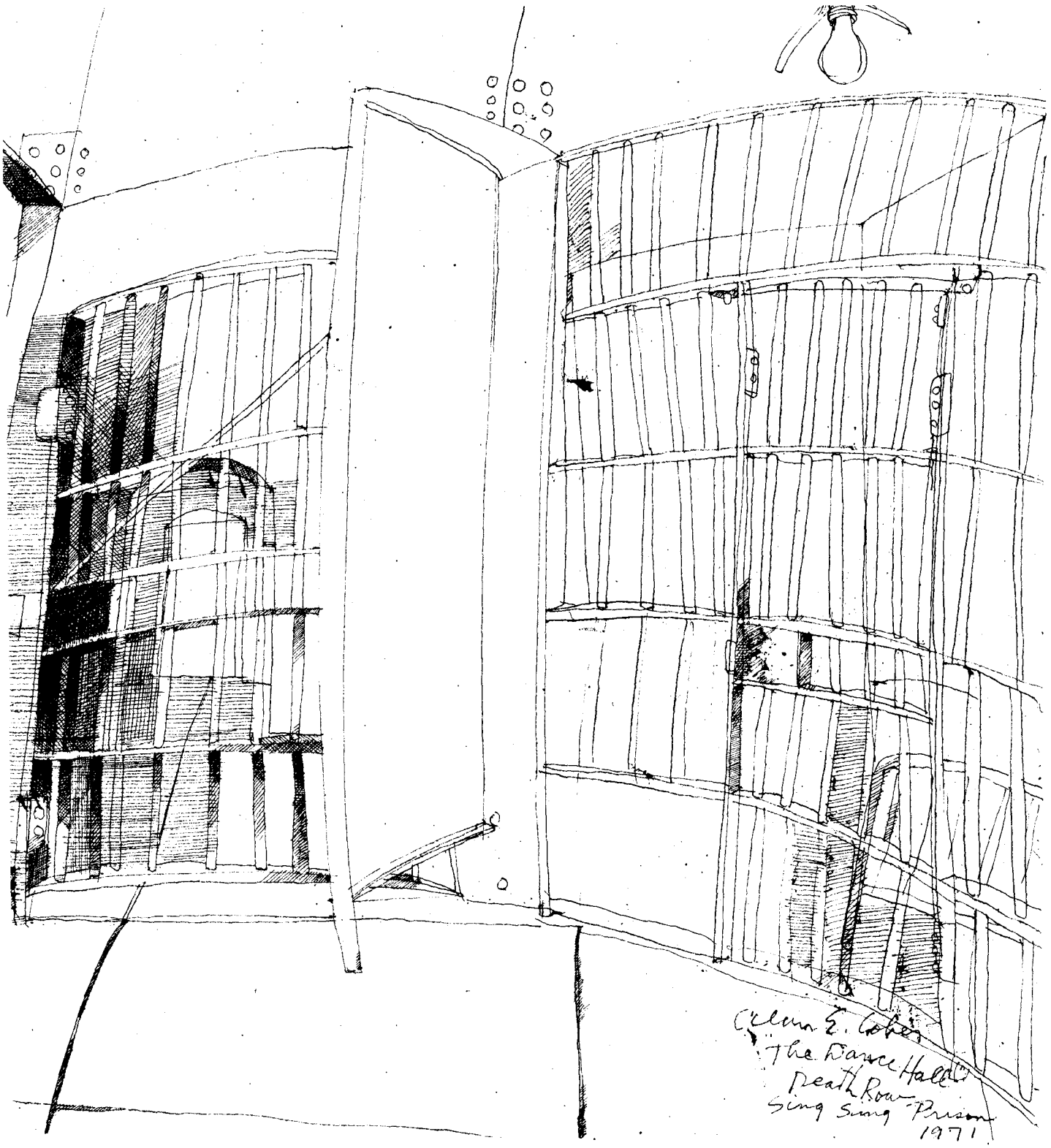

timing and total unanimity. The result was perhaps the most resilient show of inmate solidarity in recent California history. More importantly, it set the stage for what has become the most ambitious prison organizing effort to date—the movement to build a prisoners union.

For several weeks before the strike at Folsom, rumors of some kind of action had circulated throughout the prison. The guards knew something was up, but took confidence in the knowledge that previous strike attempts had fizzled after a few days, never commanding more than sporadic participation. But this time was to be different. Quickly and without a side-glance, a phrase would be murmured. A time

Illustrations by Alan Cober, courtesy of "Intellectual Digest"

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"Only 95 of the 502 tax fraud convictees (averaging about $190,000) went to prison. . . . For burglary and auto theft, over 60 percent went to prison. . . ."

stated. A place set. Three men would pass a bulletin board, never faltering, and a cartoon would appear—showing perhaps a lifer sentencing a warden. Or maybe one man would find he was handed a pamphlet; he would slyly read it, pass it on, and the next man to the john would flush it away.

By a day or so before the strike was to begin, everything had been set. A manifesto of 31 demands (29 of which became the core demands at Attica nearly a year later) had been painfully and carefully camouflaged in the wall decorations of one cell. Each group's job and its timing had been determined. The earliest shift—up to 5 AM—was to go to work as usual and thereby protect itself from isolated persecution should the rest of the inmates fail to go out later. When it became clear that the regular shifts weren't working, then they too would walk off the job. Willie Holder, a soft-spoken Oklahoman who works with the Prisoners Union at San Francisco, remembers the morning in vivid detail: "The last work call was from 7:30 to 8. I was on early shift and I'd just finished folding clothes at the laundry. I put them on the shelves, didn't distribute 'em, and walked out in the yard. There's a great mass of people all ganged around and nobody wants to go to work. But somebody starts to walk away and everybody yells to the motherfucker, 'Where you goin'?' He comes back and it's solid. It's one mind."

Contact with the outside, mostly through lawyers, had been good, and at the same time a crowd of supporters with picket signs were gathered beyond the gates. The men inside knew they were there, and that counted. Not all the inmates were certain of outside support, Willie remembers; maybe what jelled them as much as anything was one man getting up and shouting: "They're gonna have a rally outside. We can't let *them* down. People out there are interested and concerned. We've been striking for years and nobody said nothin' before."

At a time when the slaughters at Attica and San Quentin are still fresh in most people's minds, it is clear that strikes like the one at Folsom are not isolated events. The men at Folsom themselves noted that there have been inmate strikes for decade upon decade. But out of the Folsoms, the San Quentins and Atticas have grown the winds of a movement far more difficult to suppress than were the specific incidents at each prison. For the first time inmates and ex-cons have forged themselves together throughout the country to organize for their own self-protection and to win the basic human rights ostensibly guaranteed every citizen by the Constitution. In California there are already three groups seriously concentrating on forming local prisoners unions. Similar groups have formed around The Tombs and Attica in New York; union organizing is underway in both Massachusetts and Pennsylvania; and two national meetings of people working to build a unified prison movement have been held in Dallas and Washington. These organizers, like Malcolm X and George Jackson before them, leave little doubt that a new consciousness of rebellion is kindling in the sewers of American law enforcement, and no longer are convicts quietly taking out their bitterness on each other in the darkness of long alleyways.

Prison reform movements have of course passed through the American political geography before—one in the '30s and again in the early 1950s. In both cases prison reform really meant simply adding a new kind of guard to the shotgun-brandishing bulls who already walked the rails. The newcomers were psychologists and social workers, people whose educated benevolence was supposed to hasten the way to rehabilitation for the unfortunates inside the joint. Nothing much was done to change the pattern of life for prisoners, and the reformers were simply added to the payroll. With the legacy of the '50s fresh in their minds, today's prison organizers don't speak the same language as the prison reformists. The reason is simple. The reformers went to graduate school, and make a living at reform. The

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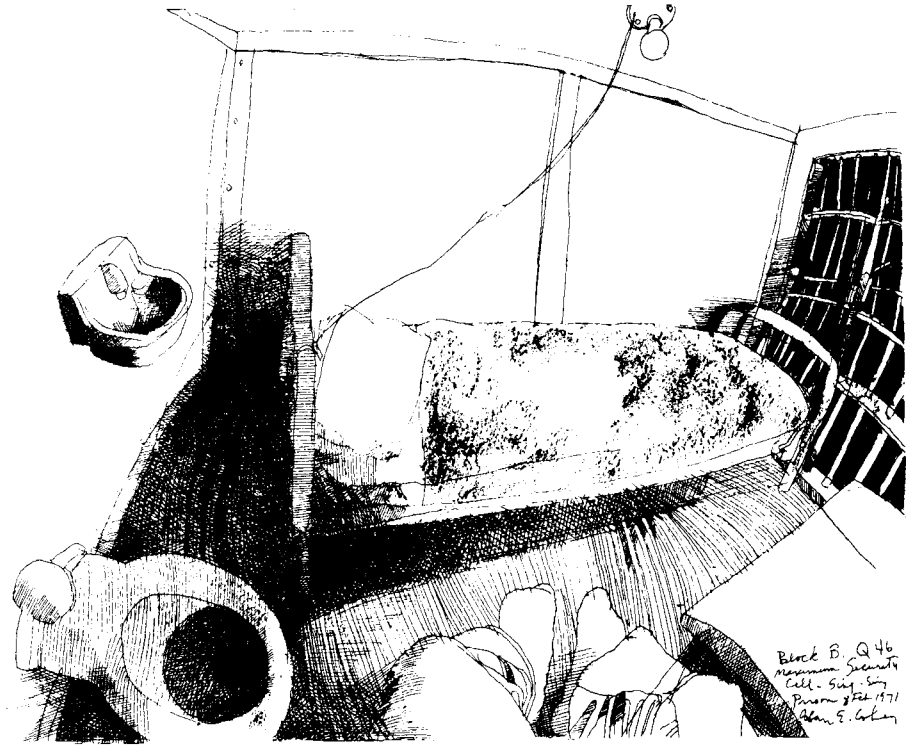
"It's just one hell of an umbilical cord they've got . . . from the prison back here to the street; they let you out just a little and then they pull you back in."



organizers went to prison, and learned to build strikes. The California case is a good example—partially because it happened earlier—of how a serious prison movement was built by inmates and newly released ex-cons.

THOUGH THE STRIKE AT FOLSOM PRISON lasted 17 days, none of the demands were met. The warden likes to say the strike flopped. Willie Holder and the people at the Prisoners Union say it didn't. And when wardens from prisons around the country locked themselves away in a closed conference at the San Francisco Hilton last fall, they didn't seem quite so sanguine. Movements like the prisoners unions, they muttered, threatened the fabric of America's penal system. Willie Holder agrees. So does Popeye Jackson, a key organizer for the California-wide United Prisoners Union, who during his 19 years in the joint spent time in every maximum security "adjustment center" in the state but one. The Folsom Manifesto's demands, they say, have made their way into every major prison in the country. There seems little doubt that the spirit of the Manifesto has indeed permeated America's prison sub-culture, for in the last few months demands and strikes for prisoner rights have come from every corner of the country. More concretely, the idea of forging a prisoners union is a direct fallout of the Folsom strike.

Shortly after the strike ended, pressure on both sides of the walls had grown strong enough for a handful of people to call a working session the following January to form a prisoners union.

While Willie Holder and others inside Folsom worked hard to organize inmates, John Irwin, an ex-con who teaches sociology at San Francisco State College, along with several others now with the United Prisoners Union, staged demonstrations on the outside to develop public support. The movement held its first constitutional convention last July in Los Angeles. Since then, Holder and Irwin (who are in the leadership core at the San Francisco Prisoners Union) have split away from the UPU over tactical disputes and their desire to concentrate on local issues. Despite the split, the Los Angeles convention was central to the growth of the union movement. Most of the Union convention focused on rights and grievances of California prisoners: the indeterminate sentence which gives prison officials control over the length of an inmate's term, minimum wage and workmen's compensation benefits in prison, parole board policies, and medical care. Yet more important than any of the specific goals that came out of the convention was the determination to build a united front between people who were still locked up and ex-cons now free on the outside. To build that kind of union means to work in direct opposition to most of the prison reform projects conceived over the decades, and in particular to combat the use of terms like "rehabilitation" for what actually goes on in prisons. In an article on paroles in the Union's paper, *The Anvil*, James Testa explains what rehabilitation means: "The real key to release from prison, the quickest way to get 'rehabilitated,' is to learn the 'art' of *deception*. Group counseling in prison is mandatory. If a prisoner is expected to be released in as short a time as possible, he has to take the parole board (Adult Authority) a good program. That is to say, he must cooperate to the extent that he becomes an automaton." Or as San Francisco Prisoners Union President Willie Holder puts it, rehabilitation is really only being reconstructed to accept prison life and authority.

Though the two union groups may differ on tactics, a common organizing target will almost certainly be those traditional labor issues: pay and working conditions. Prison wages in California range from two cents an hour to a top of sixteen cents. The work is hard, and, even measured against the terms of rehabilitation and training, it is often useless. (San Quentin, for example, operates the only cot-

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ton mill in California.) The United Prisoners Union focused directly on the labor issue in its opening statement:

"Half a man's life is made up of the time he devotes to labor. Whether in prison or on parole, we are compelled to work for a living. Work is the major provision of a people. If we do not work, we steal. If we steal, the chances are we will be returned to prison. If we can't find work in a system that does not provide jobs for everybody, we are sometimes returned to prisons with a parole violation.

"We as members of the convicted working class are twisted and mangled in the vise of a cruel system that cares little for human life. We are the last to be hired, the first to be fired. We are compelled to dance at every turn: we dance for a parole, and we dance for a job while on parole. In the widening class struggle in Amerika, we prisoners are the lowest of the low. We are wage slaves inside and outside. . . ."

So far the union organizers have, of necessity, concentrated most of their energies on the outside, providing real material services to ex-cons: sending cars to meet released prisoners, compiling job referral lists, setting up speaker bureaus, and offering help for medical problems. Actions on the outside also have their impact behind the walls. Both prisoners unions in California publish a monthly newspaper which, despite the wardens' best efforts at stopping it, is well circulated among inmates. The papers are vital to inside organizing, for in confirming to prisoners the fact that people outside the walls care about and want to support them, these tabloids vitiate the isolated psychological climate prison authorities depend upon to stymie inmate organizing.

Still, there remains a continuous tension to ensure that the unions will not degenerate simply into associations for ex-convicts. Earl Hunter, a key UPU organizer in Los Angeles, is especially careful to avoid concentrating only

on the outside simply because the need for a union is so great within the joints: "We do have quite a few members on the inside. They can't carry their union cards because they're seized in the mail and most papers [except for those smuggled in] never get to them, but we know they're there and working."

Although public support for the unions has grown markedly, the thrust of the prison movement is vastly different from the good-hearted humanitarianism that marked prison reform campaigns in the '30s. For the unions leave no doubt that the issue at stake is power—the right of human decency and self-determination for prisoners. The assignment of power within prison walls, they argue, underlies the brutality and racial taunts at work in the gory scenarios at Attica and San Quentin. Only when prisoners themselves are able to counter the arbitrary violence dispensed by yard bulls will they have some chance at changing the nature of prison life. Hence, the union organizers place little stock in the type of liberal experiment underway at Washington State Penitentiary at Walla Walla, where inmates have their own governing council and are at times permitted 30-day leaves. For while the Walla Walla prison appears far more humane than most, the locus of power there still rests with official authority; so long as the prisoners themselves lack the solidarity of their own strong organization, then their freedoms may easily be withdrawn by the same authorities who granted them.

The union position is not new; it almost mirrors the bargaining tactics employed by tough trade unionists in the '20s and '30s. The difference this time is that the existence of a solid, unified organization initiated and administered by prisoners themselves is even more crucial in overcoming the sense of resignation which tends to permeate inmate populations. There are some indications that success may not be all that remote for unionizing. Pennsylvania and Massachusetts offer some hope in that direction, and in New York the Fortune Society—a prisoner rights group of ex-cons—is pushing for similar recognition. But California, whose chief corrections officer is a former yard bull himself, is one of the states least likely to allow any kind of worker organizations in the prisons. The test, as most organizers point out, remains the willingness of state authorities to relinquish some of their power over prisoners—and that is a principle which cannot be compromised. It was the struggle for that kind of power, eventually culminating in a massive prisoners' strike during 1967–68, that forced the gates open in Sweden's prisons, and that is the minimum kind of struggle organizers here are focusing upon.

Skeptics tend to praise the union for its goals and perspective, but doubt its potential to actually organize inmates whose entire lives are controlled solely by the whims of prison authority. And the fact that the real material services—car service to meet released prisoners, efforts at job referral, speaking bureaus, medical problems, and the like—concern ex-cons and parolees is undeniable. Organizers like Willie Holder, however, emphasize just that point. It is, Willie explains, the prison system which grinds down on its inmates, denying them their rights and insuring that they will fall into a circular lifestyle from which they can never escape.

Willie puts it like this: "It's just one hell of an umbilical cord they've got and it stretches all the way from the prison back here to the street; they let you out just a little and then they pull you back in. First you go into the prison and there's all this conditioning that takes place, and the longer they keep him—or her—the more engrained it is, and the more familiar he gets with a lifestyle that doesn't exist out in society. Pretty soon he develops the attitude that he's never going to get out of prison. Suppose they give a guy a parole and 15 days later he's free—free after three, five, fifteen years in a completely different environment. Man, you just can't relate, there's just not any way cause you don't live the same way unless you get back in

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with the people who got you sent up in the first place. Then you got to commit a fucking crime to make it with them, and the lifestyle starts drawing you back—and you're not lonely anymore: you got your friends, your little domino games, people telling you when to eat, and you're right back in again."

IF THE PRISONERS UNION APPROACH lacks the epic drama of a coordinated storm against the bastille from both within and without, of secret intrigues and bargaining table battles, it has nonetheless addressed itself to those epic issues which prison reform has so far carefully avoided—namely power and human oppression. Demands like those enunciated at Folsom and Attica are perhaps most striking in their modesty: demands declaring that two-hour visiting periods twice a month constitute inhumane treatment, that surgeons assisted by unlicensed inmate help often equals murder in the operating room, that isolation of writ writers or those who receive political papers amounts to political persecution. And, unlike traditional prison reform groups, inmate and ex-con assiduously avoid aping the terms set up by prison authorities, terms, for example, like "rehabilitation." On the one hand they realize how thoroughly the cards are stacked against any kind of "rehabilitative" change, both by conditions inside and by the cruel token support they get on parole release: usually $35 or $40, most of which is used up immediately in transportation. More profoundly, when the prisoners union papers talk about "the convicted class," they are offering a clear exposure of how American prisons are used as political tools.

Responding to some of the issues raised at Attica, an assistant warden recently told reporters that many of the demands—such as having free access to showers—were unthinkable since most prisoners were hardened, dangerous criminals. The problem with the warden's statement is that even federal law enforcement figures don't bear him out. In 1964 over 75 percent of all court commitments were for non-violent crimes. (That figure includes 29.4 percent robbery, a crime which, though categorized as "violent," actually involves violence less than 15 percent of the time.) The most frequent crimes committed are those against property: robbery, burglary, auto theft and larceny. A few statistics provided by the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and the Administration of Justice set the outlines: while 41 percent of the general labor force hold white collar jobs (clerical and sales, managers and owners, professional and technical workers), only 14 percent of the prison population is white collar; conversely 43 percent of all prisoners are manual or service workers, categories which constitute only 17 percent of the total work force. Fifty-five percent of the prisoners have only an elementary school education or less, compared to only 34 percent of the general population; 45 percent of the male population between ages 25 and 65 are high school graduates compared to only 18 percent of the prison population.

Though poor people more often go to prison, they are not the biggest thieves. The President's Commission breaks down the cost as follows: white collar crimes in 1965 (embezzlement, fraud, tax fraud and forgery) amounted to $1.7 billion while crimes of the poor (robbery, burglary, auto theft, and larceny) came to $608 million. A study soon to be published by Oakland's Prison Law Project has found that in 1969 there were 502 tax fraud cases each averaging about $190,000. Burglaries that year averaged $321 and auto thefts, $992. Only 95 of the 502 tax fraud convictees went to prison, averaging 7-month sentences plus 91 who were given "split" probation (probation plus a short term). Yet of the federal convictions for burglary and auto theft, over 60 percent went to prison, each group averaging 33 months and 18 months respectively.

There are plenty of explanations for why white collar workers don't go to prison, or if they do, why they don't stay. Most of them boil down to a fairly simple axiom: they have the money to buy lawyers who can make deals with the DA or the judge, and when they do go to court, they have the requisite class position to win sympathy from juries of their economic peers. It hardly takes much insight to conclude that most of those who are sent up are indeed what the union organizers claim they are: political prisoners—prisoners who are sent to jail because of the way the political, economic and legal systems work to deny them fair access to the judicial machine. Due to the severity of their sentences their chances of quick release are minimal, and their ability to make it outside the joint once they are paroled is even worse because they have no affluent family or friends to help pave the way into ordinary wage-earning society.

How far the prisoners unions will be able to move on these issues is still hard to say. The statewide United Prisoners Union has issued several hundred membership cards to California inmates. And even though most of the cards—like most prisoners union mail—are stopped and censored, the piles of letters that have made their way into the union offices make it clear that a rising body of inmates is responding to the idea of a prisoners union. That of course does not mean that recruiting members—organizing strikes—will be easy, for the telescopic security maintained by prison authorities can easily detect any action set to take place inside the joints. So far whenever large numbers of prisoners dare speak out, they immediately are sent to the infamous adjustment center and then spirited away to another of the state's 12 prisons, in the hope that transfer will diffuse any organized leadership. For a while that tactic seemed to work, yet as resistance has steadily grown throughout the system—a half dozen strikes in 1971 alone—many organizers feel the transfer strategy has begun to backfire on the wardens, that the wardens may only be disseminating resistance leadership over a wider field. If so, then the wardens may really find themselves at the end of the rope, with a throughly organized prison system of 25,000 inmates and nowhere to send them. That is where the prison movement is headed, and short of statewide war, there may be little the authorities can do about it.

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[Comment]

A Phase Two Strategy for the Left

"The Tension: the need for national leadership . . . and the need for social transformation of the movement itself before that leadership can be offered."

THE 90 DAYS ARE LONG OVER. The freeze on the rights and livelihood of working people goes on. What can we do?

During the 90 days the movement went to school about economics. Much as in the first months of the escalated war in Vietnam, we learned as we taught, and in the process we roughed out an analysis of at least the domestic side of the new economic policy. Still, now the 90 days are over. The question presses: What can we do?

The new economic policy gives the Left an opportunity to reach the mass of American working people—an opportunity it has not had since the end of World War II, and which will remain no matter what the AFL-CIO and the five labor bureaucrats on the Pay Board may decide to do. The overwhelming likelihood is that the contracts of the autoworkers (Woodcock), steelworkers (Abel), teamsters (Fitzsimmons), and most other major unions will be honored—even when the deferred pay increases in their existing contracts amount to a higher annual rate of increase than the 5.5 percent allowed other workers in new contracts. If this happens, there will be no general strike calls from AFL-CIO headquarters. The five labor members will stay on the Pay Board, thus institutionalizing the phenomenon of a labor aristocracy and in a very literal sense selling out other working people.

Regardless of that decision, a ferment, an openness to new ideas, an atmosphere in which general strikes can be talked about for the first time in a generation, will continue.

The time is ripe for clear national leadership in response to the new economic policy. Pursuing the analogy of the early months of 1965, one sees the need for an equivalent to the SDS march on Washington in April 1965. Whether it took the form of a march (as in April 1965) or parallel work holidays in cities across the country (as in October 1965), a national event, in which national demands were made on the government which now openly manages the economy for the sake of the huge corporations, is much to be desired. It would represent a continuation of the antiwar movement's semiannual protests, and presumably demand an end to the war in Indochina, reduction in the military budget, and curtailment of military bases overseas. But the sponsorship of the march would need to be new and the thrust of its demands would need to be different:

—Labor and public members of the Pay Board resign
—Jobs or income for the unemployed
—No taxation of the necessities of life (exemption from Federal income tax of incomes under the BLS moderate budget of $10,500)
—No wage freeze on incomes under $10,500
—Prevent the export of jobs by prohibitive taxation of the export of capital

and so on. There is little chance that the AFL-CIO or even a significant number of international unions would support such a march. But there is widespread support for this kind of action among the rank-and-file. At the Illinois AFL-CIO convention in early October, a resolution was adopted calling for a one-day work holiday and a march on Washington.

An event of this kind, decentralized or in Washington, would signal the ad hoc formation of a national opposition to Nixonomics and the coming-of-age of a new politics for the 1970s.

That is one side of the tension. The other is the Left's isolation from most of the people who might march or strike on such an occasion.

This isolation can only be overcome slowly. Program is the answer because program is precisely what the new economic policy makes possible: but it must be down-to-earth program which enables movement people in workplaces and communities to meet people face-to-face and carefully include them in local action units. There is no substitute for that process. Inviting union officers to speak at mass meetings will not do it. Leafleting strangers at factory gates will not do it. Projecting media-visible events which are presumed to speak to working peoples' interests will not do it. Either the movement is capable of incorporating ordinary working people at the local level now, as co-workers in its new activities, or it should forget about significant response to Nixon's policy. We have no right to presume to speak for working people unless we are tangibly in the process of incorporating working people in what we do.

HERE THEN IS THE TENSION: On the one hand, the need for national leadership; on the other hand, the need for social transformation of the movement itself before that leadership can be offered.

I am convinced that this dilemma can be overcome. (It has to be overcome.) If we can remain sensitive to both sides of the tension I have tried to describe, and resolve to be both daring and patient—leaders in some ways and followers in others—then there is realistic hope of building a mass movement for people's control of

by Staughton Lynd

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the economy. Here are some concrete ways to move toward that objective:

1. Local Programs Unified by Common Principles: Tax Initiatives and People's Price Freeze. In many states (we do not know how many) it is possible for the people at large to place a new law before the legislature or on the ballot by "initiative," that is, by a petition signed by a requisite percentage of the state's population. The AFL-CIO in Ohio has put before the state legislature in this way a tax bill which would tax corporate profits, tax the removal of natural resources (coal, limestone, oil, and so on) from their natural state, tax certain banks and insurance companies presently lightly taxed or not taxed at all, and shift the overall tax burden from the working-class taxpayer to the corporations. The Peace and Freedom Party in California has launched an initiative to tax capital gains more heavily.

The strength of such a program is that it forces organizers to meet new people face-to-face and raises fundamental questions about the distribution of wealth and income. Its weakness is that people participate superficially, by signing a petition, and have no obvious method of follow-up action. (This is not to say that follow-up actions could not be devised. One thinks of sit-ins at the local offices of recalcitrant state legislators, marches on the state capitol, and the like.)

A people's price freeze program has the opposite combination of strengths and weaknesses. It touches a superficial aspect of distribution of wealth and income: the final prices charged by individual retailers. But it has many advantages. Everyone is affected by prices, including students who must pay for tuition, books, rent, food, and in some cases utilities. Action around prices is easy for a small number of people to begin without the guidance of organizers. And action around prices not only forces the organizer to meet new people face-to-face, but in contrast a tax initiative leads naturally to escalated local actions: rent strikes, supermarket boycotts, nonpayment of utility bills. Because of these advantages of simplicity and decentralization, program around prices appears a good place for the anti-Nixonomics organizer to begin.

The handle most readily available in a price freeze program is the Price Commission ruling of November 11: "Retailers are to post prominently their freeze-period prices for all covered food items and for many other selected items, other than food, as will be specified in the regulations. Until all such selected prices are posted, retailers are not permitted to increase any prices. In any event, such freeze prices must be posted no later than Jan. 1, 1972." *(The Wall Street Journal,* November 12, 1971)

The objective of a people's price freeze would be to prevent any price from rising more than the 2.5 percent which the President and the Price Commission have projected for 1972. The government will not commit itself to the position that no price should rise more than this percentage; but the people can.

Variants of a people's price freeze might be a campaign to roll back prices by repeal of the sales tax on food, drugs, and other necessities (but this raises all the problems of a statewide tax program), or a campaign against the huge rate increases requested by telephone, gas, and electric utilities.

Both tax initiative and people's price freeze programs run the danger of losing themselves in specifics and failing to raise clearly general principles. Michael Lerner's suggestion for "people's control boards" is a partial answer: if tax and price demands are made by counter-institutions which in themselves call into question the legitimacy of the entire wage-price control policy, there will be less possibility of opportunism. (On the other hand, if people's control boards do not have specific programs which can win some small victories they will have a hard time creating and maintaining credibility.) In addition, it is important to articulate a few simple principles which guide all our activity in response to the new economic policy, and endlessly repeat these principles in all we do.

First, "WE SHOULD CONTROL THE ECONOMY" (or, "LET THE PEOPLE CONTROL THE ECONOMY"). The fundamental question is not whether the wage guideline is too low, or whether profits and interest rates will be frozen, or whether prices will rise more than the 2–3 percent projected by the President. The fundamental question is that the government is now openly managing the economy for the sake of the huge corporations. The people must assert their right to run the economy. We must seek democratization, through workers' elected public bodies (non-governmental as well as governmental), of all decisions about allocation of resources and labor; i.e., a new decision-making process that assures to working people control over their own labor, over their own lifetime, over their use of their resources, in short over themselves.

The crucial point to be made is that the people are barred from even raising these questions, let alone dealing with them in a practical way, so long as the decisions of the production and distribution system are considered to be outside the sphere of democracy and within the sphere of private property. All decisions concerning production and distribution have to be removed from the sphere of private property and "taken back into" the civil sphere of democratic discussion, debate, and planning.

The federal government has enacted a parody of this process. Abruptly reversing its opposition to economic controls, the government has taken advantage of a vague congressional resolution to impose an indefinite freeze. The American public has had no say whatever in the decision to have economic controls, or in setting any of the guidelines, or in choosing the people who will carry out the policies. We have been subjected to a domestic equivalent of the decision to escalate the war in Vietnam.

We must challenge not only the decisions but the right of the decision-makers to make the decisions. The long-run goal of people's control (socialism) must be clearly in view at all times.

Second, "WE HAVE THE RIGHT TO WHAT WE NEED TO LIVE." We are not content with the Democratic critics' goal of freezing profits, dividends, and interest along with wages and prices. This would freeze a distribution of income which was grossly unjust *before* August 15. We simply do not believe it fair for those who have title to wealth —and do not work for their "profits,

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dividends, and interest"—to continue to benefit as they now do. We wish to challenge this basic arrangement. This is one thing we mean when we say, generally, that we oppose capitalism.

We think that people who earn their incomes (blue and white collar) should receive a better share, that those who receive unearned income should receive less—and ultimately, in a decent society, should receive nothing merely because they have title to property.

We also think that everyone has a right to life. In an economy as rich as the United States' the right to life should mean something more than bare subsistence. If the gross national product of more than $1 trillion a year were divided equally among all 200,000,000 Americans, each man, woman and child would receive $5000 or $20,000 for a family of four. If 25 percent of the gross national product were deducted for new investment, a family of four would still receive $15,000. This being so, it is fair and reasonable to demand that *every* American family receive annually the $10,500 which the Bureau of Labor Statistics states is the moderate budget for an urban family of four.

This general goal should be broken down into more specific objectives: no taxation on income below $10,500, no freezing of wages below $10,500 a year (about $200 a week), no payment of rent by those earning less than $10,500 a year, and so on. And, of course, in proposing that goods and services which are presently paid for should be distributed free, we open up the possibility of talking more generally about the kind of future society we envision.

In summary, I believe local action around taxes and prices must be the heart of the movement's response to the new economic policy. This emphasis can be criticized from two points of view. First it may be said that the power of the working class is in the workplace and Left program should stress wage demands, preservation of the right to strike, resistance to pressure for work speedups. To this I answer: Those of us in workplace situations and in unions (as I am) should by all means push such a program. But most movement activists will be obliged to approach the new economic policy from the side of the community; and I think it will be more natural and fruitful for them to work on problems which also affect them, like taxes and prices, and seek fraternal relations with rank-and-file groups in the workplace, than to pretend to be what they are not and to give leadership to people they do not know, about problems they do not understand first-hand.

Second, it may be said that local tax and price activity fails to recognize the aforementioned need for strong national leadership. I agree. Because tax-price program forces us to move outwards from the movement cocoon, to meet (other) working people face-to-face and develop our politics with them, rather than for them, I think tax-price program must have highest priority. But other program is also needed.

2. Local Programs Unified by a Common Corporate Target: Action in Many Places Against (for instance) AT&T or A&P. Activity against particular corporations has survived in a few places, for instance the Honeywell Project in Minneapolis. In general it has suffered too much from tactical emphasis on stockholders' meetings (for which I consider myself partly responsible), and too little effort to form alliances with rank-and-file workers. These are remediable defects. Here are two particular possibilities:

First AT&T and its subsidiaries have asked for $1.9 billion in rate increases. This corporation is also a major imperialist investor in Latin America, and under pressure from the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission for its systematic discrimination against blacks and women. In all those states where AT&T subsidiaries have asked for rate increases far in excess of the 2.5 percent price guideline, movement groups could use this as a jumping-off point for a campaign against other abuses, too.

Second, the network of food cooperatives is one of the most tangible embodiments of the movement across the nation. I propose calling all these groups to a conference sometime in the spring to plan a summer campaign against high food prices, bad food quality, low wages in the food industry, and corporate malpractice generally in this field. In effect one would be challenging these sturdy counter-institutions to be something more than an alternative, and to be willing to "take on" the corporations they have sought to circumvent. Perhaps it would be helpful to focus such a campaign on a single national food chain. Perhaps not. It would belong to the conference to decide.

3. A General Strike and/or a National March on Washington. Provided activity of the two kinds just discussed was happening, or beginning to happen, one or more movement groups might, under certain conditions, fruitfully initiate or participate in national happenings of the general strike-national march genre. The conditions seem to me these:

There would have to be substantial labor involvement. This involvement would have to be manifest *before* any public call was issued. In my opinion it would be irresponsible to call for a march on Washington, still more a general strike, on the untested assumption that six months from now there would be enough rank-and-file discontent for such groups and individuals to come to an action called by persons outside the labor movement. Further, the involvement should be local as well as national. A few union officials are not enough.

What might be done is as follows: A movement group might give itself, say, a couple of months to quietly approach individuals, caucuses, and unions both locally and nationally to see how much response might be forthcoming to a call for national action (this coupled with an approach to the same persons and groups for joint action on local programs). If even one national union, such as the AFT, or one major caucus in unions like steel or auto, were receptive, or if in a number of communities an ad hoc committee of rank-and-filers from many unions were for it, then all signals should be set at Go.

Staughton Lynd, a leader in the New American Movement, wrote this position paper for the NAM Conference held in Davenport, Iowa, November 25–28, 1971.

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[Comment]

Beyond the Pentagon Papers

"The Vietnam experience shows the deliberateness with which Presidents, advisers, and bureaucracies . . . excluded disengagement as a feasible alternative."

How could it happen in Vietnam that a "small" commitment in the mid-1950s became a massive one in the mid-1960s? Several former administration "insiders" have recently stepped forward, encouraged by Daniel Ellsberg's release of the Pentagon Papers to provide answers. Beginning in the Eisenhower years, we are told by George Ball, a series of "small steps" were taken "almost absentmindedly" until the United States found itself "absorbed" into Vietnam. It was "the politics of inadvertence," Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., has written in evident agreement with Ball. Yet the basic policies and concepts were right, says Roger Hilsman; the American failure was a failure of implementation, a case of inept execution. Quite the contrary, Leslie H. Gelb has argued in a recent *New York Review of Books* article: the decisionmaking system worked as its participants intended it to work, on the basis of a misguided consensus about the international and domestic poltical dangers of failing in Vietnam. Ellsberg, while supporting much of Gelb's analysis, has added his own dimension to the discussion, arguing that Presidential concern about future elections and the threat of a right-wing reaction to withdrawal short of victory was the first "rule" of policymaking on Vietnam.

The Pentagon Papers tell me that all of these explanations are misleading or inadequate. Choices to escalate rather than de-escalate or disengage were made deliberately, not haphazardly; policies were not merely implemented poorly, they were ill-conceived; concern over elections explains why changes in policy may have been postponed rather than why they resulted in continued or increased involvement. If the "system" as a whole worked so perversely well, it was because there was (and is) in American decisionmakers and decisionmaking a disposition to respond to failure in ways that will perpetuate the "success" of America's mission abroad. The decisions that were taken on Vietnam—always to press ahead with the war, usually to expand it—reflected much more than calculations about the domestic and international repercussions. They were manifestations of deeper drives to preserve and expand personal, institutional and national power.

The most fateful decisions on Vietnam—those that enmeshed the United States ever more deeply and dramatically enlarged the perceived "stakes" in the outcome of the war—occurred during the Kennedy and Johnson Administrations. What motivated these two Presidents and their common cast of senior policy advisers to make these decisions?

In the first place, they shared a number of bedrock assumptions about American responsibility for maintaining the global status quo before the challenge of communist-supported revolutions: thus the critical nature of the Vietnam experience for the United States and the "Free World," and the psycho-political importance of being firm in the face of the adversary's "provocations." One need not search between the lines for these assumptions; they emerge clearly from numerous documents and statements. The same John F. Kennedy who in June 1956 had spoken of Vietnam as "the cornerstone of the Free World in Southeast Asia, the keystone to the arch, the finger in the dike" also said as President seven years later: "We are not going to withdraw. In my opinion, for us to withdraw from that effort would mean a collapse not only of South Vietnam but Southeast Asia. So we are going to stay there." Those who theorize that Kennedy was on the verge of disengagement before his assassination and cite televised remarks of September 2, 1963—"In the final analysis it is their war" and "they have to win it"—ignore the essential point: Kennedy, as he demonstrated in throwing support to the anti-Diem generals, wanted this war won whatever the deficiencies of, and obstacles posed by, Saigon politics. "Strongly in our mind," he said in a less-quoted response on NBC television (September 9), "is what happened in the case of China at the end of World War II, where China was lost, a weak government became increasingly unable to control events. We don't want that." Kennedy would not "lose" South Vietnam, a determination that every South Vietnamese government then and since has learned how to exploit for accumulating aid without implementing reforms.

Well before the Tonkin Gulf incidents, it was recognized that increasing American involvement was contributing to the perceived value of South Vietnam, both for foreign and domestic policy. But this only lent greater validity to the "test case" hypothesis, according to McNamara (in a trip report to Johnson, March 16, 1964). The entire world, he wrote, regards the 'South Vietnam conflict . . . as a test case of US capacity to help a nation meet a communist 'war of liberation.'"

(Continued on Page 59)

by Melvin Gurtov

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Doris Lessing: Cassandra in a World Under Siege

"She is personal: she was one of the first women to write truthfully about sex. . . . She is also prophetic, but not in a vague, exhortatory, passionate mode . . . her grasp of what is actually happening in the world is ministerial. She is one of the very few novelists who have refused to believe that the world is too complicated to understand."

by Margaret Drabble

DORIS LESSING IS A PROPHET who prophesies the end of the world. She is much read but not perhaps much heeded, for there is very little that can be done, in her view, to avert catastrophe. Why, then, does she continue to write for a posterity that does not exist? Because, she says, we must continue to write and live *as if*. She is used by now to living on the edge of destruction, though her conception of it has changed over the years: now she foresees a world polluted and ruined by nerve gas and fallout, with England "poisoned, looking like a dead mouse in a corner, injected with a deathly glittering dew," whereas she used to foresee revolution. One of her characters, contemplating her miserable marriage in the war years, comforts herself in these terms: "I'm caught for life, she thought: but the words, 'for life,' released her from anxiety. They all of them saw the future as something short and violent. Somewhere just before them was a dark gulf or chasm, into which they must all disappear. A communist is a dead man on leave, she thought." And that is how she continues to write, though no longer a communist: a dead man on leave.

If her prophecies are listened to, it is with helplessness. Her literary prestige in England could not be higher, though she cares little for the literary world. She also has real readers. She is the kind of writer who changes people's lives: her novel *The Golden Notebook* has been described as "the Bible of the young," and although I don't think she'd care much for the portentousness of the phrase, it certainly catches the feeling of converted emotion that she arouses.

In a new, as yet unpublished preface to *The Golden Notebook*, she says that like all writers she is constantly besieged by letters from students who want to write theses and essays about her work, and who ask for "a thousand details of total irrelevance which they have been taught to consider important, amounting to a dossier, like an immigration department's." To these students, she replies, "why don't you read what I have written and make your own mind up about what you think, testing it against your own life, your own experience. Never mind about Professors White and Black."

Her attitude to interviewers is much the same. She is interviewed occasionally, and sometimes lectures, but usually for practical reasons—to finance travel, to oblige publishers who believe that interviews promote sales. But she has very little faith in the value of what she says in such circumstances and insists that what she does want to say is written down in her novels. (Two of her books contain accounts of lecturers who have been unable to continue lecturing through fits of stammering, caused by a lack of faith in the generalizations they are delivering from the platform of authority. Finding themselves in false positions, they become physically unable to speak.) I invited her to lunch, but found myself unable to ask her the usual interviewer's questions, knowing as I did her views on the subject. We discussed these views a little, and then talked about our dentists, and the price of meat, lecture tours, psychoanalysts and dreams, and why people take so many pills these days. She is a great dreamer, a creative dreamer, but one doesn't have to ask her to know it, because they are all there in her novels and short stories: Jungian dreams, prophetic dreams, what she describes as "bad B picture dreams." It is only fair to say that for a writer who consistently foresees and confronts the worst, she is neither depressing nor apparently depressed. We talked about cooking and exchanged recipes. One can tell (again, from her novels) that she is a good cook, that she notices what she eats. She is an organized person: when working on a novel, she cuts herself off, doesn't go out, doesn't see people. She has learned to say no, though she doubtless learned the hard way: she is not a hard person.

Doris Lessing was not brought up in England. She came here in 1950 at the age of 30 with the manuscript of her first novel, *The Grass is Singing*, which was accepted, published, and became an immediate success. So for over twenty years she's been a courted, successful, even popular novelist. Part of her initial impact came from the subject matter of her work: she wrote about Africa and racialism, topics which in the '50s could hardly have been more in the news. She was born in Persia, where her father ran a bank: the family moved to Rhodesia when she was five, because her father fancied that he could make a fortune growing maize. They went out, she told me, "with very little money, a governess, a piano, clothes from Liberty's, visiting cards," and there they all sat "in an elongated thatched hut, while the farm did not succeed." She received hardly any proper education, she says, and that, together with "wandering about in the

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veld by myself, on foot or by bicycle" were the two things that she thinks most formed her. She worked in Salisbury for a time, married twice, had three children, and then left everything to come to England.

The evidence of the not-having-any-education is easy enough to see in her work, and it manifests itself in several ways, not least in her distrust of the academic establishment, with its generalizations, fashions and categories. She's found things out for herself, and she thinks other people should do the same. In *The Four-Gated City,* she writes about the heroine whose life she chronicles in the *Children of Violence* series. "Somewhere in Martha's life it had been instilled into her, or she knew by instinct, that one should never read anything until one wanted to, or learn anything until one needed it. She was in for another of those short, intensive periods of reading, during which she extracted an essence, a pith, got necessary information, and no more . . . she sniffed and nosed and smelled her way . . . and returned home at nightfall with her baskets full, and dozens more books on order." It is Freud and Jung that fill her baskets on this occasion; earlier, it had been the Marxists; later, more esoteric authors. But the point is, Martha doesn't read because she thinks she ought to, or because she wants to keep up with things; she reads because she needs to, for living.

DORIS LESSING IS AN experimental novelist, perhaps, but it's misleading to see her in those terms, because most experimental writers deliberately, provocatively, depart from the old in order to create the new. Novelty is not her aim: on the contrary, she harks back frequently and nostalgically, to the "old-fashioned novel," to the philosophic novel of Thomas Mann. She is not obsessed with form but with content, and she does not care whether the form she finds is new or old, fashionable or unfashionable, as long as it serves her purpose. Her discontent with the traditional novel, as expressed in *The Golden Notebook,* is not with its conventional ingredients, with its plot and its characters and its chronology, with its reading public: she is dissatisfied with it *because she can't get enough into it.* It is too simple for the enormous number of things that she has to say. *The Golden Notebook* (and her later novel, *The Four-Gated City*) bulge with information, with abundance, with characters, ideas, locations; their very forms express complexity, profusion, excitement.

And yet it took her some time to reach this freedom and boldness. Her early novels and stories are conventional, often showing the marks of clumsiness. *The Grass is Singing* is sensational: it opens, dramatically, with the account of a white woman murdered by her houseboy. The first novels of her *Children of Violence* sequence, though less melodramatic, are commonplace in theme and style: we see Martha Quest, first as an adolescent on the farm struggling against her extremely unsympathetic mother, then as a young married woman fighting against the expectations of Rhodesian society, producing a child, abandoning it, having affairs, joining a communist group. The writing is ordinary, and the lack of education shows itself in split infinitives, dangling prepositions, home-made words like "abolishment." And yet the momentum is powerful, it presses forward, it is compulsively readable: one reads on for all those wrong reasons, to find out what is going to happen to the characters, to the political group, to find out if one agrees with the heroine and ought therefore to go and do likewise. The first three volumes of Children of Violence—*Martha Quest* (1952), *A Proper Marriage* (1954) and *A Ripple From the Storm* (1958)—have been variously claimed as works about the status of women, works about Marxism or African nationalism, and as novels of social protest in the vein of the Angry Young Men of the '50s.

Children of Violence must be one of the oddest novel sequences ever written, and its oddity, as a structure, is symptomatic of Doris Lessing's disrespect for consistency, categories, style as a-thing-in-itself. Most authors who embark on novel sequences claim to have planned the thing as a whole, and repudiate any suggestion that they might have changed their minds as they went along. As we know, Proust wrote the beginning and end of his work at the same time, and one cannot imagine Anthony Powell, his admirer, adding a volume to the *Music of Time* that would depart radically from the tone and format of its predecessors. But if one thinks about it, why on earth not? Surely, if one is going to write a work that will be more than seventeen years in the making, it is more than likely that as the world changes, so will one's conceptions. Doris Lessing could certainly not have plotted the amazing last volume of her sequence, *The Four-Gated City,* seventeen years ago, for the simple reason that most of the events in it had not happened; some of them have not happened yet, for it is a prophetic book, but Doris Lessing does draw a line between prophecy and history. At the end of it she says, in the Author's Notes, "This book is what the Germans call a *Bildungsroman.* This kind of novel has been out of fashion for some time: which does not mean that there is anything wrong with this kind of novel."

The point is, *The Four-Gated City* is littered with sentences that begin, bluntly, desperately, with the words "The point is . . ." And the point follows. Most writers feel compelled to write bridging passages, to plane down the surface, to conceal their points. But Doris Lessing is too urgently involved in getting to the end of her seven hundred pages (for this novel is not only utterly different in style from its predecessors, it is also several times as long)—and she must grasp the point before she goes on. The flexibility of her writing is by now amazing: she changes tense, tone, place, she skips decades, moves from the past to the future, documents, speculates, describes, with relentless urgency. The world of *The Four-Gated City* is a different world from the world of *Martha Quest,* though its protagonist is the same, and has endured the same history. The shape of the sequence is the shape of the exploration and widening which is experience. And she gets everything into one book.

The Four-Gated City was written after *The Golden Notebook,* which was a watershed. *The Golden Note-*

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book is a transforming work. There is nothing at all like it. It was published in 1962, and the depth and scope of its preoccupations mark a major development; they are territory gained forever. It marks a dissatisfaction with the confines of the ordinary novel, with the telling of stories and a new concept of the spirit. The protagonist this time is Anna Wulf, who is suffering from a writer's block: she is trying to write a book about Ella (the third, She, the Other) who is trying to write a book about a suicide. It is easy to speculate that Doris Lessing could not have written this book if she had not become deeply involved in the regions of madness, psychoanalysis, Jungian and Freudian thought: and her later books follow through this concern. (Her latest novel, *Briefing for a Descent into Hell* is about a man suffering from a mental breakdown and complete loss of memory, in the hands of doctors whose main aim seems to be to keep him "quiet" and "good" with drugs.) But *The Golden Notebook* is not about madness, though it uses its terminology. Though Doris Lessing points out, obsessively, the parallels between her life and Anna's, though she dwells much on the use of fiction and analogy, the purpose of fiction, the need for truth, one can never safely identify her with Anna, any more than Anna identifies hereself with her shadow, Ella.

Anna, like Doris Lessing, is from Africa. She too has left a husband, has written a best-selling novel which she thinks of as banal. She wishes to put the record straight. Also, she knows that if she wishes to go on writing she cannot go on writing in the old way: there must be a new way. Like Martha Quest, she is a disaffected member of the Communist Party. Anna/Ella has had a long affair with a working class British/European refugee psychiatrist, and is undergoing psychotherapy herself with a Jungian analyst. Ella's lover was named Paul, her son Michael. Anna's lover was called Michael, and she has a daughter, not a son. It is not surprising that she feels it fair to point to "that game that writers play with themselves, the psychological game—that written incident came from that real incident, that character was transposed from that one in life, this relationship was the psychological twin of that." Not that it is such a game: one of the points that she makes is that this search for analogy is not merely a search for equivalence, an evasion of libel actions, a polite form of presentation: it is also at the heart of the creative process, for in writing novels we create not only a book but a future, we draw up through our characters "our beautiful, impossible blueprints," and bring into being what we need to be.

The Golden Notebook contains five recurring sections: one a conventional novel called "Free Women," with archaic chapter headings such as "Anna meets her friend Molly," "Two visits, some telephone calls, and a Tragedy," and the other four as the notebooks. The Black Notebook deals with the past, with the secretions of nostalgia, and the problems of turning material into fiction; the Red deals with Anna's involvement in the Communist Party, of which she was a member during the unfavorable cold years 1950–54. The Yellow "looks like the manuscript of a novel" and it is about Ella, her life and writing. The Blue Notebook is the realist notebook, in which Anna aims to set down the facts of daily life, in painstaking detail, but three quarters of the way through, she concludes that it is the worst failure of all, it is even less truthful than the others. She says "I expected a terse record of facts to present some sort of pattern when I read it over, but this sort of record is as false as the account of what happened on 15 September 1954, which I read now embarrassed because of its emotionalism and because of its assumption that if I wrote 'at nine-thirty I went to the lavatory to shit and at two to pee and at four I sweated,' this would be more real than if I simply wrote what I thought. And yet I still don't understand why." Finally, Anna writes the Golden Notebook, because she refuses to allow herself to be fragmented by literary styles, by roles, by life styles: she is going to bring them all together. She says "I'll pack away the four notebooks. I'll start a new notebook, all of myself in one book."

In her unpublished preface, Doris Lessing describes the writer's dissatisfaction with any finished book: "How little I have managed to say of the truth, how little I have caught of all that complexity: how can this small neat thing be true when what I experienced was so rough and apparently formless and unshaped." In *The Golden Notebook*, she catches at least some of the complexity. Inevitably, a discussion of it makes it sound like a formal exploration, but how can one convey its richness, its characters (actresses, doctors, Africans, politicians, African politicians, housewives, children, media men, journalists, writers, lorry drivers, business men, all known, all seen first hand), its dense profusion of human interest? Intellectually, it is a masterpiece: but it has none of the aridity of an intellectual construction. It grows out of life.

THE GOLDEN NOTEBOOK has, of course, been seen as a book about Women's Liberation, and with good cause. The title of the novel-within-a-novel, "Free Women," indicates that this is at least one of her subjects. How could it not be? It goes without saying that Doris Lessing is in favor of the liberation of women, and thinks that it has not yet come about. She has worked hard for her own liberty, and says that women who allow themselves to be bullied by men who call them "unfeminine" and "castrating" deserve all they get. She is politically aware of the implications of being a woman writer: one of the reasons why Martha Quest is drawn to Marxism is because it, at least in theory, gives the woman a serious role, attacks the nuclear family, and allows Martha to act. Anna, similarly, at one point is described as "living on behalf of all women." And she insists to her analyst that she is living the kind of life women have never lived before: she rejects the view that she is one of a great line of women stretching into the past, who have insisted on sexual freedom, who have been artist-women. She feels herself to be new, to be in a new situation. *The Golden Notebook*, with its insistence on freedom, its moments of aggression, its attacks on the masculine world—there is a fine scene where all the women leave a lecture on the orgasm of the swan, another where they listen incredulously to a man trying to ex-

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plain a sexual failure in terms of the size of the sexual organ—is inevitably a document in the history of liberation, but it was in a sense published too early, for its tone is not at all explanatory: it assumes its readers will know what is meant. The movement came later. Doris Lessing says, "Some books are not read in the right way because they have skipped a stage of opinion, assume a crystallization of information in society which had not yet taken place. This book was written as if the attitudes that have been created by the Women's Liberation movements already existed. . . . Things have changed very fast."

In fact, what happened was that she got there first, once more prophetic, but this time didn't realize it. (She does now see the subject as relatively unimportant: The doom she prophesies is so general that when it arrives it won't matter much which sex one happens to be.) She knew it was new, but thought that other people were more with her than they were. From 1950 onwards, she has been successful, courted, attractive, free: and therefore she has been able to report on an area of life that is largely unrecorded. She writes about men, about the con-men of the art world, the film men, the journalists, with wit and hatred; she destroys their sexual dignity, their unspoken assumptions, their maneuvers, with an entirely justifiable indignation. Perhaps few women had been exposed as she had to such solicitations, but if they had, they had politely kept their mouths shut. She tells the truth, and I remember the sense of shock I felt when I first read *The Golden Notebook*, and found a description of Anna, courted by a film man, professionally and of course along with the package deal, sexually: Anna rejects him, firmly but civilly, and there is a moment of "pure hatred" between them. Yes, exactly so: what a liberating realization, to know that it is, precisely, hatred that one feels, and that one feels it rightly. There is a short story in her excellent collection, *A Man and Two Women* (1963), that deals with this theme: it is called "One Off the Short List," and it describes the determination of a failed writer-turned-interviewer to sleep with a successful self-contained theatrical

Doris Lessing

designer. He plots and maneuvers: she is clearly bored. In the end, after a long tiring evening, when all she wants to do is to go to bed and to sleep, she goes to bed with him to get rid of him. To get it over with. When he gets there, he is impotent, and she has to manipulate him "like a bored, skilled wife, or like a prostitute." The story is hard and unmerciful: it has no compassion for the pathetic failure of the man, in his career and his sex: or at best it has the offhand bored compassion of the woman herself who shrugs her shoulders, and thinks that masculine vanity is like that, after all. And yet she is not an angry nor a hating writer. Her sympathy for the women who allow themselves to be trapped and exploited is of much the same quality as her sympathy for those men who exploit them.

The next novel, after *The Golden Notebook*, was Book Four of *Children of Violence, Landlocked*, which is perhaps the least satisfactory volume of the sequence, for its traditional narrative seems to hamper the direction of the power in the book. Or maybe one feels that more with hindsight, after reading *The Four-Gated City*. As already described, this is a very curious genre of book, and an extremely long one. On one level, it is a documentary account of English life from 1945 to the end of the '60s, and it records everything: political movements, fashions, educational theories, trends in food and books and psychoanalysis. Historically, everything is placed and accurate: for instance, Doris Lessing describes the nuances of behavior of journalists towards the people they interview in terms of whether the interview took place before or after the creation of the Press Council (1953). This is the kind of realism, the type of observation of which Angus Wilson

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or Arnold Bennett or Flaubert would have been proud. And yet what would they make of the other regions of her novel?

Most of the characters in this volume are new, though a few visit from the past, and of the new ones, the most important are Mark, the writer, and his wife, Lynda. They represent the old world, Bloomsbury, and live in an old house which is the past. Martha becomes Mark's secretary. Lynda, Mark's wife, is mad: she has been ruined by drugs and doctors. She lives in the basement with a mad friend, and moves into and out of madness. Martha at times sleeps with Mark, at times not. They are a sort of *ménage à trois,* and there are children which come and go, and grow up during the thirty year time-span of the action. Martha has stopped shaking herself free, she has settled, she has become loyal. But she has not settled into security, for like Lynda she too voyages into madness. She and Lynda become very close, they exchange thoughts. They can read what other people are thinking. They dabble in the esoteric, in science fiction: they believe in extra-sensory perception (if one can put it like that). And it emerges that Lynda is not mad at all, that on the contrary she has always been able to hear too much, and that doctors have been for years destroying and immobilizing the most gifted people, labelling them as schizoids and paranoids. (This, too, is the theme of Doris Lessing's latest novel, *Briefing for a Descent into Hell,* which contains, among other things, a description of a group of people who communicate without words.)

It is clear that she had moved into dangerous territory in more ways than one. There are few writers who would dare to risk such subject matter. Science fiction is all right now: it has become respectable: Vonnegut is chic. And it is perfectly all right for R. D. Laing to criticize the conventional means of treating schizophrenics. It is also all right for those young people who choose to reject Western science and technology to read Oriental mystics and reject the processes of rational thought, because everybody knows that most of them are not serious. What is really alarming is Doris Lessing's combination of mental qualities. On one level, she describes mystical experience, spiritual experience, never drug-induced, but natural. (Martha and Lynda see drugs as the weapon of the enemy). On another level, she criticizes with very high practical intelligence the way that doctors manipulate their sick patients, the organization of hospitals, the social attitudes towards the sick. Martha and Lynda give dinner parties and attend political rallies: they also spend weeks in the basement beating their heads and scrabbling with bloody fingertips along the wall. They worry about the education of the children, they feed their cats, they run a large houseold, they are sometimes interested in clothes and sometimes not, they search, they wait, they foresee the end of England. They are, though mad, complete.

Doris Lessing's vision of the future can be rejected, but not for lacking credibility or documentation. She has read books and newspapers and has known well several sections of society; she has recorded the facts and has not missed out the evidence for her case. Her political experience shows in ev-everything she writes. Mary Ellman, in her book, *Thinking About Women,* says that nowadays we expect poets and novelists to be personal, ignorant, intimate, self-confessing, though occasionally a writer (more often a poet) will adopt the prophetic stance. But, she says, nobody wants to play Prime Minister. And this is precisely what is so important and significant about Doris Lessing. She is personal: she was one of the first women to write truthfully about sex. (Her description of why Martha feels unhappy sleeping with a man she loves while married to a husband she does not love, and whom she married for his political convenience, is masterly and unprecedented.) She is also prophetic, but not in a vague, exhortatory, passionate mode. Her judgments are practical, based on sound observation, and her grasp of what is actually happening in the world is ministerial. She is one of the very few novelists who have refused to believe that the world is too complicated to understand. She sees the Catastrophe in technological terms, pointing to various accidental precedents off the South Coast of Spain, and in the Porton nerve gas laboratories. She offers explanations for the final breakdown of Britain, describing in all too plausible detail the growth of violence, the breakdown in communications, the gradual collapse of machinery, the increasing vacillations and dictatorial spasms of government, the declining health of the population, the computerized data banks. The true explanation for the poisoning of Britain is never given: some believe it was caused by radioactive material from a sunk Russian submarine, some say a Chinese pilot in a plane full of nuclear devices crash-landed in Britain, some think a wing of Porton caught fire, or that Aldermaston had been blown up, or that vandals were releasing gas from the North Sea. The point is that we never see these as the speculations of a writer sunk in mysticism, turning her back upon the world. Nor are any of her suggestions, alas, inherently implausible. Her devoted application to the understanding of life is not likely to produce improbable or irrelevant conclusions.

What needs to be said, in short, is that we cannot afford to write off the things that Doris Lessing has to say. Like Cassandra, she is probably right; and like Cassandra there is a risk that she will be ignored.

Margaret Drabble is a well-known British writer. Her recent works include Waterfall *(Knopf),* Jersualem the Golden *(Morrow) and* Wordsworth *(Arco).*

Records

GEORGE JACKSON; GREATEST HITS Vol. II, Bob Dylan, *Columbia*

IT WAS ONE OF THOSE INCREDIBLE coincidences that make you think that the universe is conspiring to make a point. Paul Williams was in town; Paul who founded *Crawdaddy* magazine years ago and with it the rock music press, whose book *Outlaw Blues* was one of the first and one of the best in the field, who has since chucked the whole thing and split for a tiny island in the North Pacific to try and get it all together.

Paul was in town for a visit, and we

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were driving to Sonoma to hear Sopwith Camel. As we came off the Richmond-San Rafael Bridge, we passed the grim walls of San Quentin prison and commented briefly on the sinister events that took place there last August. A few minutes later I reached over and flicked on the crackly old Bendix car radio to some local top 40 station and there was an unmistakable voice coming at us. We'd tuned in, missing the beginning of his song and heard for openers his refrain, *Lord, lord, they shot George Jackson down/Lord, lord, they laid him in the ground,* followed by the third verse of the song, *He wouldn't take (blurred word) from no one/He wouldn't bow down or kneel,* and on through the final verse, ending *Some of us are prisoners/Some of us are guards.*

What it means is . . . ah, no, you won't catch me meandering off into the metaphysical analyses of the garbage-picker Weberman or that different kind of scavenger, Pickering. What I'm talking about is the personal evolution of Bob Dylan, as manifested in his music—not because one folkie from a small Minnesota town is that important, but because Dylan (along with John Lennon) has placed himself consistently in the vanguard of advancing thought in Western society.

And what "George Jackson" means is that withdrawal into a solipsistic paradise just doesn't hack it—not in the 1970s it doesn't!

"George Jackson" completes the rehabilitation of Bob Dylan.

Christ, we all go through a lot of the same things: that's one of Dylan's significances, that he speaks not as an isolated artist but as a man closely in contact with the reality which we all face. And from the urban-oriented, socially aware content of his early music, he went into a mellow, country-flavored period beginning with *John Wesley Harding,* went completely sweet with *Nashville Skyline* (a beautiful album nonetheless), came a cropper with *Self Portrait.*

New Morning brought us all new hope—not that it was one of Dylan's best albums, but in it he seemed to have moved back on the right track.

Greatest Hits Vol. II is distinctly uneven, but overall a fine Dylan album. And the single "George Jackson," unfortunately cut too late for inclusion on the album, puts Dylan right back in the vanguard where he was with his early, tough songs.

THE INTERCONNECTION OF THE condition of popular music and the general level of consciousness in our society has been mentioned in this column in the past. (If there is an underlying basis for these monthly comments, other than tipping you off to this or that artist's groovy new record, that interconnection is it.)

Somehow in the mid- and late '60s, the Beatles or LBJ era, if you can swallow that juxtaposition, there is little question that the general consciousness was rising, and with it the level of the music. Not coincidentally this was the period of the ascendance of both Dylan and the Beatles.

In the early years of the Nixon era —and maybe this *is* coincidence; if not, are we back to the universe making points?—the Beatles separated, Paul McCartney began spewing saccharined trivialities and Dylan descended into *Self Portrait.*

And the level of consciousness fell. The antiwar movement faded, the erstwhile civil rights movement split into integrationist and separatist wings (and plain back room power struggles), and the drug scene—an invaluable index of consciousness!—moved from psychedelics to speed to booze and reds and skag. Phew!

Then Harrison's *All Things Must Pass* and Lennon's two fine albums, even Ringo Starr's "It Ain't Easy," Dylan's *Greatest Hits Vol. II* and "George Jackson" and the *Bangla Desh* album hovering on the edge of release any day now. Renewed activity, a new rising of the collective mind, the stirring of early movement around the '72 presidential campaign, China in the UN. . . .

All of which is far afield from a folkie from a small town in Minnesota bringing out a new double album and a single song, but the two are somehow, inexplicably, inextricably, bound together. I don't claim to know why, or how it works, although there seems to be a complex feedback effect there; more significant is the fact that it is so.

We need Dylan and Lennon and Harrison. We don't need the downers, the spouters of pointless nihilistic violence, the bubble-gum people. They reflect a lowering of consciousness and at the same time they *promote* a lowering of consciousness; Dylan, Lennon, Harrison reflect and promote the opposite.

It is strange that the capstone of Dylan's own revived consciousness came from bloody murder in the San Quentin yard—but it did. The single record carries two versions of the song "George Jackson," a short version with Dylan's voice, guitar and harmonica, and a longer version with backing musicians and a female voice in harmony. As might be expected, the simpler version is superior, and also as might be expected, the "big band" version is the one getting air play. But that's all right, it's almost identical.

The album—which faces a prospect of being overshadowed by the single —is an excellent collection of Dylan material. Some of it is selected from recent albums through *New Morning,* some is from basement tapes with The Band, "Watching the River Flow" was a single several months ago, and the last three tracks ("I Shall Be Released," "You Ain't Goin' Nowhere" and "Down in the Flood") are newly recorded by Dylan with Happy Traum on various instruments and second vocals. Traum is a fine musician whose two Capitol albums recorded with his brother Artie have been unjustly overlooked.

Oh, and that blurred word in "George Jackson" is "shit". Too rough for AM, they clipped it out of a tape and spliced it back in, backwards. Just like "fuckin' " in Lennon's "Working Class Hero." Well, okay, let's not get exercised over peripheral issues, as long as they *play* the damned things—although it makes you wonder whether to laugh or to cry when it happens.

Anyway, coming back from Sonoma we tried the late night shows, and wondered, as we passed the Marin County Civic Center and spoke of Angela Davis inside, if the universe was going to send us another message —but all we got was a weather report.

Maybe that was the message.

—DICK LUPOFF

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Sports

IT IS, THE OLD WISDOM SUGGESTS, on the playing fields of America where young boys are made into men. It never happens that way, of course, but it is supposed to. But since athletic competition serves as a masculinity rite, it is not surprising that women who participate in competitive sports are faced with a degree of discrimination and oppression that at least equals that which women encounter in any other area of American society. The woman athlete, no matter how high her level of athletic skill may be, is never fully accepted in this milieu with all its male mythology. Nothing could be more devastating for a male athlete than to be defeated by a woman; and at the same time, the qualities of aggressivity and muscularity required for athletic success result in women athletes often being ostracized by other women. Because she is perceived as a threat by both men and women, the woman athlete is often a lonely, marginal person, never fully accepted by either group.

Marie Hart, a prominent woman physical educator, succinctly describes this dilemma: "American society cuts the penis off the male who enters dance and places it on the woman who participates in competitive athletics." Mildred "Babe" Didrikson Zaharias, described by Paul Gallico, one of America's most distinguished sports writers, as "probably the most talented athlete, male or female, ever developed in our country" encountered the difficulties suggested by Dr. Hart on an almost daily basis throughout her athletic career that lasted from the early 1930s to shortly before her death from cancer in 1955. Mrs. Zaharias won nationa and international titles in nearly every sport open to women during her 25-year career as a competitive athlete. Before turning to golf during the later years of her career, where she won every amateur and professional title available to a woman, she was a star in track and field at the 1932 Olympic Games and was a perennial All-American in basketball. Though she stood only 5 feet, 6 and one-half inches and weighed no more than 125 pounds, she was constantly portrayed by the male sportswriters of the time as having a boyish appearance. She wore her hair short for convenience but she was an extremely attractive woman. Despite this, she was always referred to as a tomboy, and according to Gallico, one of the favorite jokes of the male sportswriters was that athletic promoters never knew whether to assign her to the men's or women's locker room when she showed up for a competition.

It is of course true that there are some women athletes whose size and appearance qualify them as being "unfeminine" according to traditional Western standards, but, as was the case with Mrs. Zaharias, most women athletes are treated the same regardless of their actual physical appearance or behavior. (The exceptions to this occur in sports that are characterized by graceful movements and little physical exertion, such as ice skating, diving, gymnastics, skiing and similar activities, where a woman can participate without being typed as "masculine.")

Not surprisingly, most women who participate in competitive athletics are extremely conscious about looking "feminine." Vicki Foltz, a 27-year-old married woman who is probably America's finest woman long distance runner, was asked in a recent interview whether she had any "feminine hangups about running." She responded, "Yes, I have lots of hangups. You wouldn't believe it. I always worry about looking nice in a race. I worry about my calf muscles getting big. But mostly I worry about my hair. The morning before my last big race it was hailing and blowing, but there I was in the hotel with rollers in my hair. I knew the rain would ruin my hairdo, but I fixed it anyway. I suppose it's because so many people have said women athletes look masculine. So a lot of us try, subconsciously maybe, to look as feminine as possible in a race. There's always lots of hair ribbons in the races!"

If an attractive, mature married woman with children like Vicki Foltz feels this pressure, one can only imagine what it must be like for younger women athletes such as the female swimmers who often participate in the Olympics while still in their early teens. Marion Lay, for instance, participated

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in the Tokyo Olympic Games when she was only 14 years old. By 1967 she had developed into one of the finest female swimmers in the world, and she won four silver medals at the Pan American Games that year. She won a medal at the 1968 Olympic Games and also served as captain of the Canadian Olympic women's swimming team despite being only 18. But in many ways, her career was frustrated. The only coaches available to her were men, since in swimming, as in nearly all other sports, it is next to impossible for a woman to advance in the coaching profession. Marion found that nearly all the male coaches and officials she met refused to accept the fact that she was as dedicated to swimming as any of the male athletes. The attitude of male coaches and officials seems to be that women are somehow incapable of being as dedicated to sports as men, whereas in reality the opposite is often true. Being a marginal person, as I pointed out earlier, the female athlete often dedicates herself to sport with a fervor unmatched by male athletes since athletic success is one of the few satisfactions available to her. Unlike the case for male athletes, athletic prowess does not assure a woman of social status. The final step in the Catch-22 of women's sports is that those women athletes who do totally dedicate themselves to sport are invariably labeled as being masculine by the male-controlled sports establishment.

All the desirable qualities athletes must possess if they want to achieve a high level of success have been made synonymous with our cardboard concept of masculinity. This point was brought home to me when in a recent *Sports Illustrated* article the male diving coach of Micki King, America's, and perhaps the world's, finest woman diver, attempted to compliment Miss King by saying he knew early in her career that she was going to be great because, "She dives like a man." My immediate reaction on reading that statement was that she sure as hell doesn't dive like me or any other man I ever met. In fact, she doesn't dive like 99 percent of the men in America. What she obviously does do is dive *correctly*.

Another myth that the male-dominated athletic world works to perpetuate about women, especially the female teenage swimming sensations who began their careers at the age of 12 or so, is that they invariably retire when they get to be about 17 because they become interested in boys and no longer have time for competitive athletics. Conveniently ignored is the fact that most male athletes are not known for their sexual abstinance. If male athletes have time for girl friends, there is obviously no reason why female athletes could not also continue to participate in sports while dating. The shortness of their careers is due to other circumstances: the tremendous social pressures I've mentioned, and also the fact that only a handful of colleges in the entire United States gives even partial athletic scholarships to women. Compared to men, the opportunities for women to be supported while competing in athletics after high school are almost non-existent. Additionally, most women college physical educators attempt to steer women students away from highly competitive athletics.

If a woman does survive all this, she faces a double standard even after achieving a sufficient skill level to participate in national or international level competition. This past track season the AAU barred one of our most prominent female track stars from international competition because of "unladylike" behavior on a foreign tour the previous summer. Her "unladylike" behavior involved a member of the US men's international team that was touring along with the women's team, but this individual was not even reprimanded.

The frustration of the woman athlete is further compounded by her inability, because of basic differences in speed and strength, to ever achieve success according to male standards. Hopefully, our society will come to the point where women will not only be given equal opportunity to participate in sport, but will not be made to feel that they are somehow inferior athletes because they run 100 yards in 10.5 rather than 9.5. Simone de Beauvoir best sums it up in *The Second Sex* where she writes, ". . . In sports the end in view is not success independent of physical equipment; it is rather the attainment of perfection within the limitations of each physical type: the featherweight boxing champion is as much of a champion as is the heavyweight; the woman skiing champion is not the inferior of the faster male champion; they belong to two different classes."

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RANDOM HOUSE

TEXAS GAS *(From Page 24)*

of Mines and Minerals, for a ruling. Walker ruled that the fracking would not endanger the storage field. Baker returned to Midland and began an around-the-clock drilling operation. On November 11, 1970 a certified letter was sent to Baker from Walker:

> "It has always been my thought that it is easier to catch more flies with honey than with vinegar and with that thought in mind, I, quite frankly, have a favor to ask that has no basis in law, but is simply a favor. It is my understanding that this well will the early part of next week become the property of another party. This party has indicated that the well has a potential use, the nature of which I do not fully understand, but nonetheless, a use. I would like to ask that unless it becomes absolutely necessary otherwise that no plugging either partial or complete be done and I can assure you that if this is done, you will be absolved of all responsibility with respect to the plugging of the well, and we shall see the immediate removal of this well from your surety bond."

Baker had no intention of plugging the well. Walker, however, knew what Texas Gas had in mind—there was oil a'coming and a plug would prevent Texas Gas from using this well. Baker continued to drill. The County Court finally condemned this last Baker holding only a few hours after the core sample was taken. The sample was then sent to Geo-Engineering Company in Mt. Vernon, Illinois, for analysis. The analysis proved beyond doubt that there is oil in commercial quantities underlying the Midland Gas Field. In the meantime, Texas Gas had contracted the same firm and had demanded to see the analysis. Baker is not sure if the firm has disclosed the core analysis. Meanwhile he has placed both the oil and core sample in hiding. Baker smiles when he relates the story and insists that given the chance he could produce the oil profitably.

But that chance is unlikely to come. A company that has pressured the world's two largest oil and gas well service firms and a regulatory agency, and stolen at least $400 million worth of gas and oil, is an almost unassailable adversary. And while Baker says if

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necessary he will take the case to the Supreme Court, he has not yet even been able to get the case out of the county. And the chance of Texas Gas Transmission Corporation being busted in Muhlenburg County is zero.

Speaking of the dangerous precedent that has now been set, Baker says, "If this is left to stand, the right to ownership is badly impaired. I hate to think where the individual stands if the corporation wants it [producing gas or oil field]. I just wonder what rights individuals have, if they have any."

—A. Patrick Schneider II,
Gene L. Mason and
Thomas J. Langan

PENTAGON PAPERS *(From Page 49)*

Given the need to succeed, all that remained to be determined was how much will, resourcefulness, and perseverance the American leadership could muster in pursuit of its objectives. As phrased by Walt Rostow in a memorandum to Dean Rusk (November 23, 1964), victory was assured "if we enter the exercise with the same determination and staying power that we entered the long test on Berlin and the short test on the Cuba missiles. But it will take that kind of Presidential commitment and staying power." For Rostow as for others, Vietnam represented yet another probe of American power by the communist bloc; to blunt the probe meant acceptance of "the simple fact that at this stage of history we are the greatest power in the world—if we behave like it." Vietnam was thus also a test of the opposing wills, commitments, and abilities of great powers to exert influence in small countries. Disengagement in the midst of such a test was not only undesirable; it was unthinkable.

Vietnam also became a personal test for Presidents. Policy suffered from pride of authorship as each President approved courses of action that made the war peculiarly his own. Success or failure became identified with his personal credibility, authority, and place in history—and those in his inner circle either learned to share in the burden or, as Chester Cooper has commented, were excluded from "the team" and kept in the dark about sensitive information.

For President Kennedy, the fall of 1963 seems to have been the beginning of his personal identification with winning in Vietnam. As he said at a news conference on September 12, "What helps to win the war, we support; what interferes with the war effort, we oppose. In some ways I think the Vietnamese people and ourselves agree: we want the war to be won, the Communists to be contained, and the Americans to go home. . . . But [!] we are not there to see a war lost, and we will follow the policy which I have indicated today of advancing those causes and issues which help to win the war." If the Bay of Pigs disaster had encouraged him to compensate with strong action in Vietnam in 1961, the Cuban missile crisis in 1962 may have emboldened him to support Diem's overthrow and thus fully restore his credentials as a decisive President.

Lyndon Johnson adopted Kennedy's belief that Southeast Asia should not be "lost" the way China had been. (As quoted by Tom Wicker, Johnson said in November 1963: "I am not going to be the President who saw Southeast Asia go the way China went.") By 1965, he was reported to have declared: "I do not want to be the first American President to lose a war." Like Kennedy, Johnson prided himself on his toughness and adroitness at manipulating power to assure America's dominant role in the Pacific. He accepted the challenge put before him by advisers such as Walt Rostow that, where there is "Presidential commitment and staying power," the United States can be equal to any task. Neither President could see himself shrinking from a challenge so phrased.

As deployments to Vietnam increased, the official rhetoric to rationalize them and internationalize their significance also expanded. Even before the start of the bombing campaign against the North, the war had become "our" war. The sense of commitment and need to win thereby heightened. As William Bundy, the Assistant Secretary of State, wrote to Rusk on January 6, 1965, the main concern of policy should be the "humiliating de-

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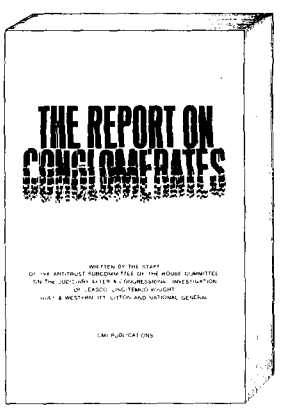

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feat" the United States would suffer if it continued to present a weak posture in Vietnam. Since we *had* become heavily involved, our image—America's "face"—had to be salvaged. "It is essential . . . that the US emerge as a 'good doctor,' " wrote John T. McNaughton, McNamara's principal aide. "We must have kept promises, been tough, taken risks, gotten bloodied, and hurt the enemy very badly."

For McNaughton, who was later, along with his boss, to become disenchanted with Administration policy, "70 percent of American objectives involved avoiding a humiliating US defeat." Joseph Kraft has since written that McNaughton was actually trying to communicate to the President, in language he would understand, how unimportant ("20 percent") South Vietnam's survival had become. If so, McNaughton misread the temper of his superiors. Neither the President nor his top advisers were likely to be attracted to disengagement because of the 20 percent figure; the avoidance of an American defeat *was* an objective they considered worth a substantial price. You don't tuck tail and run, as Johnson and Rusk liked to say.

The negative objective of avoiding defeat had such a powerful effect on high-level policymakers by the mid-'60s that it was able to overwhelm the few policy dissenters in the Administration. Under Secretary of State George Ball, for instance, wrote in 1968 (in *The Discipline of Power*) that the United States had committed too much prestige, "authority," and resources in Vietnam to warrant disengaging short of success. As a Great Power, the United States must finish what she starts: "we have signed up for the duration." The Pentagon Papers show Ball as an early critic of policy; but his book indicates that he had gotten trapped by the convoluted logic of his colleagues into believing that the maintenance of a tragic and erroneous course in Vietnam was preferable to the "extreme" alternatives of withdrawal or "major escalation."

The prolongation and expansion of America's intervention in Vietnam were thus cemented by an unpierceable rationale. For the ideologists, American "interests" compelled commitments; for the others, including Ball, who recognized failure but insisted on experimenting with new tactics to reverse it, commitments compelled interests. Either way, disengagement was not and could not be palatable.

IDEOLOGY AND ASSUMED OBLIGATIONS of power provided the framework for decisions that entrapped the United States in war and kept it there. But a number of bureaucratic pressures contributed significantly to those decisions—by creating demands for action, by biasing the choices available to the President, by instilling an urge to act tough, and by co-opting the dissidents. In explaining these pressures, some former officials have referred to executive fatigue, bureaucratic secrecy on Vietnam affairs, poor staffing, and duplication of effort. These, however, were only surface manifestations of much deeper institutional problems; they were symptoms of a "disease" indigenous to the decisionmaking process.

In the face of failing policies, bureaucratic leaders make constant demands upon their staffs to come up with "something new." That is their job, and it is performed zealously when personal and bureaucratic reputations are on the line. The demands multiply by the time they reach the President, and the pressure on him to respond with new action directives is intense. In the case of Vietnam, the President's response had to take account of conflicting interests. On one hand, Kennedy and Johnson, no less than some of their advisers, were anxious to avoid precipitate moves that would arouse public opinion, offend allies, and stimulate countermoves by North Vietnam and her allies. On the other, since Vietnam amounted to communist aggression, both Presidents felt justified in selecting policies that would increase the use of military power.

The bureaucracy, being run by men well versed in the art of manipulating power, facilitated Presidential decisions by coming up with "modest" escalatory steps that would enable the President to tell the public he was responding with "restraint" to the other side's provocations. Presidents also found these suggestions appealing as tactical accommodations to their bu-

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reaucracy: such "small" steps would buy them time (though time for what has never been clearly articulated), get critics off their backs, and warn the opponent of harsher measures unless he desisted in South Vietnam. "Restrained" escalation became bureaucratic appeasement.

The bureaucracies concerned with Vietnam policy in the 1960s thrived on options; and the men who ran them, and reported directly to the President, thrived on the management of crises. In those few cases in which part of the bureaucracy sought to challenge the leadership's basic assumptions — such as CIA studies that destroyed the domino thesis, cogently criticized the bombing strategy, and closely questioned the feasibility of "rooting out" the Viet Cong "infrastructure"—it was ignored. Grand strategy is the responsibility of the crisis managers—the appointed members of the President's inner circle, not responsive to, and isolated from, congressional and public inquiry. Feeding these men information, not opinion, is the proper task of the bureaucratic machinery they control.

For these managers, "fascinated by the confrontation model of world politics," as Richard J. Barnet has so aptly phrased it, crises such as Vietnam were tests of their personal wills and of their ability to mobilize their organizational resources to help restore order and stability in distant societies. What they lacked in area expertise, empathy, and morality they made up for, or thought they did, in toughness and coolheadedness under fire. As they said, the job required "very steady nerves," readiness to "bite the bullet" and play "eyeball to eyeball" for high stakes. Vietnam was not simply America's war but, in very personal terms, theirs and their offices'. They would not, perhaps could not, let go.

In an environment so geared to exerting national power, the few dissenters and questioners of policy should have recognized quite soon that they were being exploited. While they apparently thought they could be more effective inside than outside, their presence was actually more conducive to escalation than de-escalation. They became "institutionalized," as James C. Thomson has written—house doves whom the leadership could point to in evidence of its openness to dissent. Conceivably, the presence of men like George Ball may have softened or delayed escalatory decisions. But the price for these concessions was agreement to stand by the President and make nationwide appearances in his behalf while his policies were failing and the war was getting hotter. The bureaucracy thus produced no important defections that might have damaged its "team" image to good effect.

When the Nixon Administration's Pentagon Papers become available, they will undoubtedly reveal the same arrogance of power and singlemindedness of purpose that lay behind the policymaking of previous administrations. They will contain, for example, the classified renditions of: the President's belief that the fall of South Vietnam would have unacceptable consequences for much of the rest of Asia (as recited in a televised interview of July 1, 1970); the President's fear of national humiliation if the United States were to be "defeated" in Vietnam (recall his April 30, 1970 speech on Cambodia: "I would rather be a one-term President than to be a two-term President at the cost of seeing America become a second-rate power and see this nation accept the first defeat in its proud 190-year history"); the President's personal identification with a Vietnam success ("I'm not going to be the first President to preside over an American defeat." Stewart Alsop has quoted Nixon as saying on several occasions); the reported choice of intervention in Cambodia as a modest alternative to doing nothing or doing much more; and the continued conviction that air power, and threats of escalation (masked as "protective reaction"), can ultimately force the communist Vietnamese to break off their struggle.

There is, however, a larger meaning to the persistence of similar patterns of thought and action through five administrations. The Vietnam experience shows the deliberateness with which Presidents, advisers, and bureaucracies time and again developed a consensus to exclude disengagement as a feasible, desirable alternative to protracted engagement. The war was

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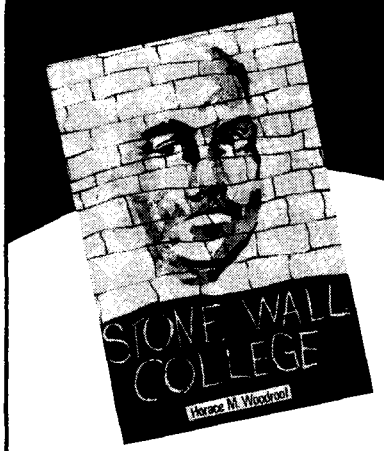

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consistently perceived as a threat to national and personal missions. Involvement was preferable to nonintervention because the former represented fulfillment of the wish to global predominance, while the latter meant abandonment of an imperial persuasion that had become a foreign policy tradition.

Melvin Gurtov worked on the Pentagon Papers Project in Washington while employed by the RAND Corporation. His most recent book is China and Southeast Asia—The Politics of Survival *(D. C. Heath).*

Letters

[CARNAL KNOWLEDGE–PORNOGRAPHY?]

Editors: I consider your December article on Prostitution one of the most singularly revolting things I have ever read in my life. I also consider myself well-read. The article was a crude piece of quasi-pornography relating not at all to the question of women's rights, and I assume the editor of RAMPARTS was aware of this when he [sic] approved the trash for publication.

The problem here is that I had looked upon RAMPARTS as a vocal and articulate organ of New Left thought, similar in character to such publications as *New Republic*, which purports to be, and is, a journal of art and politics. I had been under the quaint delusion that RAMPARTS was a similar magazine.

Obviously, however, as your porno article enhancing the seamy side of life proves, RAMPARTS is no such publication, but rather equivalent in nature to the scores of 25c trash that fills the back shelves of drugstores and railway station magazine stands. This is unfortunate because this country needs an articulate yet witty and progressive publication. . . .

Eric F. Edmunds
Princeton, N. J.

Editors: Re: Kate Coleman's essay, "Carnal Knowledge: A Portrait of Four Hookers." Make that five.

Joseph Whitehill
Chestertown, Md.

Editors: Kate Coleman's article on hustlers answered all the questions that previous ones always raised. Thank goodness I don't have to read any more "hooker" stories!

Laird Schmidt
New York, N. Y.

[A NATIONAL ORGANIZATION]

Editors: I have just finished reading Staughton Lynd's comment in the December issue of RAMPARTS, and I agree with him 100 percent. Since 1968 the movement has stagnated & fragmented & argued among itself about ideology instead of seeking new methods and issues to bring people together.

What we need now is a national movement with a solid base . . . a national organization, divided into local groups to work locally toward the national objective.

I also think that some thought should be given to the idea of "taking on" the corporate structure by using the same methods they use. For example, a national corporation operated at the local level (like a chain store) with the profits funneled through a non-profit foundation into local projects to better the lives of the common people.

The corporation & the foundation have been the tools used by the elite to preserve & obtain power & I think they could be used effectively by the people.

Admittedly these are not the ultimate answers . . . but it is becoming increasingly clear that the methods of demonstration and protest used in the past are no longer effective either in bringing about change or arousing the people to participation. . . .

Ron Pearson
San Francisco, Calif.

[COUNSEL FROM AN OLDER FRIEND]

Editors: Several months ago I wrote to you that I am 81 years old and my doctor advises me to stop reading if I don't want to be completely blind. Naturally I feel terrible that I can't read any more my preferred magazine, RAMPARTS. But no use for me to receive the magazine if I can't read it. But before I close this short letter, I want to give you some very good ad-

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vice: the articles in RAMPARTS are too long, especially for the people who are old. If the articles are shorter and the print a little larger, I'm sure you will have more success.

Regards and best wishes,
Joe Di Narda
Rochester, N. Y.

Dear Joe: Over the past few months we have been increasing the number of articles in the magazine, but in most cases shortening their length. By doing this, we hope to cover more topics in an interesting, readable way. We hate to lose you from the RAMPARTS *family of readers. If you can locate someone to read aloud to you, we would like to send you the magazine with our compliments.*—THE EDITORS

[ADULT CHAUVINISTS!]

Editors: Please cancel immediately our subscription to Ramparts Magazine. We find this periodical *unexceptable* [sic] for Junior and Senior High School use.

Dan Daltoso, Principal
Riverside Jr. Sr. High School
Boardman, Oregon

[ABORTION NIGHTMARE]

Editors: Shirley Wheeler is a 23-year-old woman who lives in Daytona Beach, Florida. She has a medical history which, her doctor advised her, was too serious to risk a pregnancy. Shirley did become pregnant, and because abortion is illegal in Florida, Shirley went thru nightmarish arrangements to get an illegal abortion. Somehow a health examiner discovered that Shirley had obtained an abortion; he had her arrested and put in jail. A few months ago *Shirley Wheeler was convicted of "the crime of manslaughter."* Recently, Justice Blount sentenced her to two years' probation provided she marry the man who impregnated her or move to North Carolina where she must be in the "custody" of her family. She may not drink, go into a bar, stay out late or remove herself from the custody of her family.

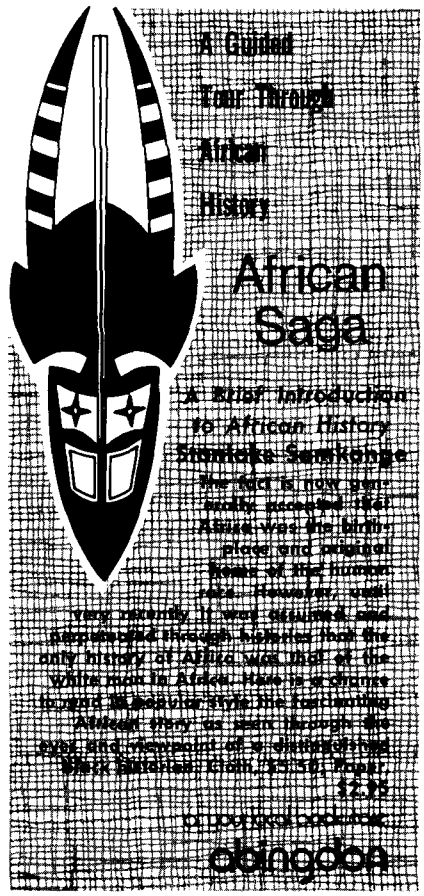
Shirley Wheeler's only crime was to exercise her constitutional right as a woman to control the use of her own body. We ask your readers to write to Governor Rubin Askew, State Capitol, Tallahassee, Florida, urging him to use his power as Governor to overturn Shirley Wheeler's conviction and repeal her sentence.

Women's Abortion Coalition
San Francisco, Calif.

[JEWS ANTI-GAY?]

Editors: Your article "Out of the Closet: A Gay Manifesto" in the November issue of RAMPARTS is the most enlightened exposé I have read to date of the sexism which pervades the so-called radical left movement. Back during the early 1960s I flirted with the then-emerging New Left but withdrew when I realized that socialism wasn't for fairness; and I also grew increasingly suspicious that the Old Left was the *real* power behind the "New," and I knew what they did to homosexuals in Cuba and Russia. . . .

When the Los Angeles Gay Liberation Front was formed in January, 1970, I was one of the first to join. But that now-defunct organization had problems from the very start dealing with the Movement and the Left. Some



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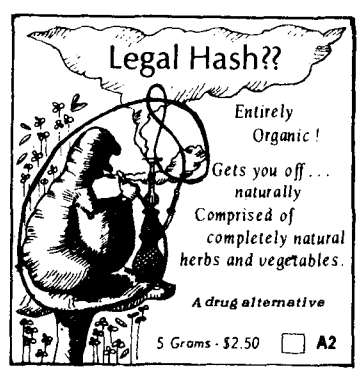

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Gay Libbers—mostly those from the SDS, or ex-Stalinists and Maoists—thought that Gay Lib should be an annex to the Movement. Others, such as myself, wanted nothing to do with the Movement because we were convinced that it was only a phony attempt at a limited economic revolution (like the USSR) rather than a freeing of the whole person: They feed the body and enslave the mind.

With the publication of *The Dialectic of Sex* by Shulamith Firestone, and, more recently, *Sexuality and Class Struggle* by German SDS theorist Reimut Reiche, my worst fears were convinced. Indeed, the New Left puritans were anxiously seeking a theoretical base to keep man enslaved in the name of the (economic) Revolution. The new ploy is the attempted linking of Karl Marx (who was no sexual liberationist, although he broke Victorian tradition with two de facto wives), with Sigmund Freud, the "father of gay oppression. . . ."

As far as I am concerned, Freudo-Marxism is the most recent manifestation of Judism, and *that* religion, or through its daughter, Christianity, is the real origin of gay oppression. . . . I believe it is commonplace knowledge that a disproportionate number of New Leftists are of Jewish extraction, and Judism is a religion which is especially severe in its sanctions against homosexuality. . . . Many of the Old Leftists (and their New Left offspring) are the products of European ghettos, and although they may have, as good Communists, renounced their religion, I seriously doubt if they were all together able to escape the cultural clutches of Jewish moralism. They simply exchanged the traditional Jewish temple religion for the new one (Marxism), and, more recently, Freudo-Marxism.

Because religion is the real basis for gay oppression and the sexist hang-ups of the Left, it is unfortunate that Mr. Young failed to understand its implications. . . .

Craig A. Hanson
L.A. Gay Community Alliance

Editors: After having read "Out of the Closet: A Gay Manifesto," I felt the need to express myself as a representative of that portion of the female population which is Gay identified. Simplicity was among the article's several good points. It escaped the usual highly emotional political rhetoric which is useful to other Gay revolutionaries, but is meaningless to a heterosexual reader. It also successfully escaped the use of jargon words whose meanings are often illusive to the heterosexual reader. For these reasons I felt that the article was a cogent and useful bit of communication with your readers. The problem with your approach to the subject was that you only published an article dealing with male homosexuality. . . . By ignoring the fact that the situations, problems, and attitudes of Gay women are often vastly different from those of Gay men, you are merely reinforcing the problems society has created for those women. Since most Americans arrive at decisions about people unlike themselves not by personal experience, or by reading books, but by seeing movies and reading popular magazines such as yours, you are left with a rather large responsibility.

Sandra Vinson

We are working on it.—THE EDITORS

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CHILE

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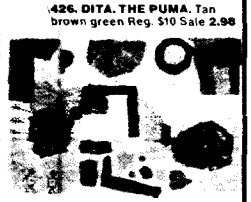

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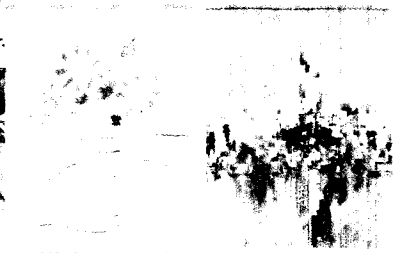

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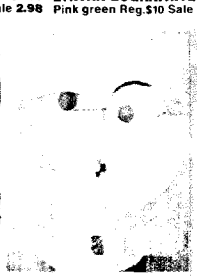

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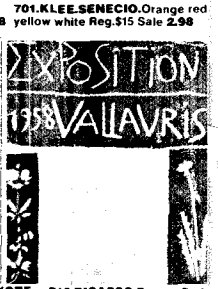

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